

Exploring Transnational Families among Ecuadorian Migrant Workers in Spain: The Case of Cleaners in Madrid

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Signed declaration

I hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own.

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Abstract

This research on Ecuadorian migrants working in cleaning in Madrid, aims to explore their transnational ties from a gendered perspective. It focuses specifically on the nature of transnational family relationships especially in relation to parenting. The conceptual framework draws from several fields of research including gender and transnational migration, transnational families, masculinities and migration, as well as studies on the low-paid labour market. Theoretically, the thesis argues that a gendered and transnational approach benefits from recent conceptualisations which highlight how gender is both relational and a key constitutive element of migration, but that more research is required on the role of men in the creation and sustainability of transnational families. In bringing together research on transnational families as well as that on migrant workers, this study contributes to the emerging field of gender and transnational migration by analytically disaggregating along the following lines and distinguishing between: productive and reproductive work; domestic and contract cleaning work; and transnational and reunited families. Drawing on a questionnaire survey with 100 respondents and a total of 75 in-depth interviews, among which 33 were conducted with Ecuadorian migrants employed in domestic and contract cleaning in Spain, and 11 with families in Ecuador, the empirical and conceptual contributions suggest that migrant workers experience gains and losses in relation to challenging gender ideologies that is directly tied to the ways in which they construct their familial relationships. On the one hand, migrant workers challenge pre-existing gender norms through migration and by creating alternative family forms, yet on the other hand, they reinforce traditional gender stereotypes through the desire to recreate conventional families through reunification. Overall, this research uncovered the complexities of transnational families and shows that the nature of family life after reunification is as important as the transnationality of families.

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List of Abbreviations

AESCO	<i>América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación</i> - America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation
CASI	<i>Centro de Atención Social al Inmigrante</i> - Centre for Immigrant Social Attention
CC.OO.	<i>Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras</i> - Confederation Union of Working Commissions
CEAR	<i>Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado</i> – Spanish Commission for Refugees
CNT	<i>Confederación Nacional de Trabajo</i> – National Confederation for Work
FLACSO	<i>Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales</i> – Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences
GDI	Gender Development Index
IDS	International Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISCOD	<i>Instituto Sindical de Cooperacion y Desarrollo</i> – Trade Union Institute for Cooperation and Development
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas</i> – National Institute for Statistics
INEC	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos de Ecuador</i> – National Institute for Statistics and Census of Ecuador
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISCOD-UGT	<i>Instituto Sindical de Cooperacion y Desarrollo</i> - The Syndical Institute for Cooperation and Development
SENAMI	<i>Secretaría Nacional de la Migración</i> - National Secretary for Migration
SIISE	<i>Sistema integrado de indicadores sociales del Ecuador</i> – Integrated System for Social Indicators of Ecuador
UCE	<i>Unión Comunista de España</i> - Communist Union of Spain
UGT	<i>Union General de Trabajadores de España</i> – General Union for Workers of Spain
UJCE	<i>Unión Juventudes Comunistas de España</i> – Young Communist Union of Spain
UNDP	United National Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Gender, International Labour Migration and Transnational Families in Ecuador and Spain

As global inequalities between the Global North and Global South persist, and in some cases widen, international labour migration flows are on the rise. Research on international migration shows that people from developing nations move in response to social and economic crises, and also to unskilled labour demands in the Global North. In 2010 it was estimated that there were 214 million international migrant workers worldwide, out of which Latin Americans accounted for about 7% (ILO, 2010; Human Development Report, 2009). Traditionally characterised by flows to the United States, Latin American labour migrants are increasingly moving to Western Europe. In the specific case of Ecuador, since the 1980s it experienced two major waves of international migration, and there are currently 1.5 million people living and working abroad, which is an estimated 10% of the country's total population (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008). Although migration has been a structural feature of Ecuador's history, only recently has it transformed into the country with the highest international emigration rate in the Latin American region (Koolhaas, 2010). Ecuadorian migrants are spread throughout the world in North America (Canada and the US), Latin America (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela), and most significantly in Spain with an estimated 260,000 women and 240,000 men (other European destinations include Belgium, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom) (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008).

The Global South to North international migration flows are also characterised by its increased feminisation. Gender-disaggregated data on international migration highlights that women account for around half of these flows, mainly as a result of the gendered inequalities inherent in development policies in the country of origin, and the demand for women to work in domestic service and related occupations in developed nations (Castles and Miller, 2009). However, most of the existing research on gender and migration considers the experiences of Latin Americans or East Asian domestic workers in the US, while less is known about other contexts, such as Europe (see for example, Salazar Parreñas, 2001; Mahler, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). Among the Latin Americans participating in international migration flows to Europe, the feminisation of the flows as a source of labour is not uniform. According to Pellegrino

(2004) the data available in 2001 suggests that the gender balance for Ecuador (51 percent women) is more equal than that of other nations, such as Brazil (70 percent women), Dominican Republic (69 percent women), Honduras (65 percent women), El Salvador (64 percent women), and Paraguay (64 percent women). The relatively equal balance between the genders reflects Ecuadorian men and women's establishment in Spain for purposes of work, and a greater tendency for family reunification.

The growing feminisation of international labour migration flows to the North has been in large part related to the globalisation of labour markets. Studies on gender and migration emphasise that migrant women, in comparison to men, work in lesser skilled sectors in developed nations (Kofman and Raghuram, 2009). The growing number of studies that analyse Latin Americans women's incorporation into Europe's labour market show that migrant men are mainly concentrated in construction and agricultural work, and migrant women primarily in domestic service (see also Castles and Miller, 2003; Colectio Ioe, 2001; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003). Although gender-disaggregated data for contract cleaning is not available, in the year 2000 it is estimated that 43,000 Ecuadorian women and 2,700 men worked as domestic workers in Spain. In 2005, this figure rose to 206,000 women and 9,000 men (Camacho, 2005; FlacsoAndes, 2007; Focal Point, 2009). In comparison to women there are a quantitatively marginal number of Ecuadorian male domestic workers. However, there is growing empirical evidence across Europe that migrant women are moving from domestic service into contract cleaning, and migrant men from developing countries are increasingly joining these areas of the labour market as a means of subsistence (Bartolomei, 2010; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Datta *et al*, 2009; Herrera, 2005; Kilkey, 2010; May, 2007; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006; Näre, 2010; Pedone, 2007; Sarti, 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010; Wills *et al*, 2010).

Migrant workers' experiences in the low-paid labour market, particularly in domestic service and contract cleaning, have an impact on the type of transnational connections maintained with the home country. Over the past few decades, the emergence of research on labour migration has emphasised the economic linkages, particularly the impact of remittances on the development of the country of origin (see Carling, 2005; Escrivá and Ribas, 2004; Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen, 2004). This is very relevant for labour migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, since the region received the second largest amount of migrant remittances in 2007 (\$66.5 billion), after Asia (\$69 billion) (IDB, 2009). However, other authors argue that low-paid migrant workers maintain an array of transnational links which include economic practices for the

everyday expenses of their family, and migrants' social ties maintained with their families back home (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; McIlwaine, 2005; Pribilsky, 2004; Sørensen, 2005).

Research on transnational families, broadly defined as families that live some or most of the time separated from each other (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002), indicates that men and women maintain different forms of family ties across borders. Men, on the one hand, are more involved than women in maintaining economic and political transnational linkages with their communities, rather than sustaining links with the family, in an attempt to protect their social status and privileges in their country of origin (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Jones-Correa, 1998; Mahler and Pessar, 2006). Rather than sustaining strong family relations, male migration tends to be associated with the breakdown of families (McIlwaine, 2007). Migrant women, on the other hand, are more involved in activities oriented towards their new place of settlement (Jones-Correa, 1998; Goldring, 2001, McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2011). The exception would be the role played by migrant women in transnational families. Mainly from a global care chain approach, a wealth of research illustrates that migrant female domestic workers in the global North play a central role in the family through 'transnational motherhood' (Escrivá and Skinner, 2008 on Spain; Hondaneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997 on the US; Mahler, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2005 on the US; Schmalzbauer, 2004 on the US; Sørensen, 2005 on Europe). The focus on men's collective transnational linkages and the 'breakdown' of families as a consequence of migration, as well as migrant women's role in 'transnational mothering', however, is not entirely in evidence in the case of Ecuadorian migration to Spain. The Ecuadorian case in Europe suggests that couples migrate together, or are quickly reunited, and that transnational parenting is a highly gendered process. In comparison, women are quicker than men to reunite with their children in the host society, and migrant men are transnational fathers for longer periods of time (37% transnational mothers to 41% transnational fathers) (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008; Herrera, 2001; Pribilsky, 2004 on the US; Salimbeni, 2004).

Responding to the above evidence in which transnational relationships generally concentrate on women's experiences, and situated within the field of gender and migration research, with a particular focus on men and masculinities, this thesis addresses the neglect of migrant men's gender identities when working in the 'female' sector of the labour market and as part of 'private' transnational connections in the family. Conceptually, the aim here is to address how gender roles, relations and identities among men and women transform throughout the migratory process. More

specifically, it examines the working and living experiences of male and female domestic and contract cleaners from a transnational perspective. It also critically assesses the utility of a gendered and transnational migration analysis in understanding the experiences of migrant domestic workers and contract cleaners in relation to the formation of transnational families and parenting. The framework for this thesis suggests that both men and women's experiences must be taken into account when assessing the gendered transformations that occur at a family level through international labour migration (see also Datta et al, 2009; McKay, 2007; McIlwaine, 2010; Pribilsky, 2004 on the US).

Empirically, this study explores the case of Ecuadorian labour migration to Madrid in Spain by examining the lives of migrant male and female workers employed in domestic work and contract cleaning. In response to calls for more empirical research on theorising the gendered nature of transnational family ties, the findings of this study are significant because, despite the abundance of research on the feminisation of international migration flows, as well as on how these processes lead to transformations in gender ideologies, a gendered and transnational analysis often assumes that migrant female workers have uniformly 'private' and oppressed experiences. When men's experiences are taken into account, a different and much nuanced perspective emerges. First, this study explores differences in the gendered patterns of employment, including domestic settings and subcontracted cleaning in other environments (offices, schools, parks, etc). Second, the current focus on transnational families also takes into account the differences between men and women in maintaining transnational parenthood, as well as focus on family reunification. In this study, for example, rapid spousal reunification was crucial for men and women to 'get ahead' in Spain. With regard to parenting, women prioritised child reunification while men viewed transnational spaces as an opportunity to be a 'transnational father'. This highlights the importance of examining the experiences of residential mothering and transnational fathers in much greater depth than research has done to date (although see Pribilsky, 2004). Overall, therefore this research uncovered the complexities of transnational families and how important family reunification is in the everyday experiences of migrant workers.

Conceptualising and Defining Domestic and Cleaning Work from a Transnational Perspective

It is important to clarify at the outset some terminological issues in relation to defining 'female' cleaning work and to address how empirical research from a gender and

transnational migration, mainly transnational parenting, can benefit from its conceptualisation. In 1951 an International Labour Organization (ILO) meeting of experts provided the first working definition for domestic and cleaning work and considered the different tasks, and the private and public places of work. *Domestic work*, carried out in private households, was defined as a wide variety of tasks such as cleaning (sweeping, vacuuming, polishing and washing floors, furniture, windows, and dishes), laundry (washing, ironing, and mending linen), cooking (preparing and serving meals and refreshments), shopping (purchasing food and various other household supplies), and supervising other workers. The ILO also defined *contract cleaning* as a variety of tasks such as making beds, cleaning bathrooms, kitchen work, and supervising other workers carried out in public spaces such as buildings, offices, hotels, businesses and public transport (coaches, buses, trams, trains, and aircraft).

Initially, the ILO definitions for domestic and contract cleaning seem useful in recognising it as productive work. However, these definitions have been largely critiqued by feminist scholars for a variety of reasons. First, they do not acknowledge the fact that this line of work is traditionally considered a female responsibility. Women have always carried out domestic service, premised on the 'natural' role of women, and the most recent and significant change is the rising demand in the Global North for *migrant* men and women from a variety of developing nations (Laurie *et al*, 1999; also see Castles and Miller, 2003; Glenn, 1992; Moya, 2007).

Second, the ILO definition for domestic work has been critiqued by feminist scholars for neglecting its internal differences. In 1997 Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila responded to this shortcoming by subdividing domestic work in three different subcategories on the basis of the type of employment relationship of Latin American migrant domestic workers in U.S. private homes: (1) *Live-in* domestic work where the employee works and lives for one family and the tasks generally include caring and cleaning; (2) *Live out* domestic work when the employee works five or six days a week for one family, tending to the cleaning and maybe also caring, but returns to her own home in the evenings; (3) *Housecleaning* when the employee cleans houses, working for several different employers and usually does not do care work as part of her job. During my field research I found that some Ecuadorian domestic workers in Spain fit into one or other of these categories with the exception of those migrant workers that cleaned in public spaces or combined working both as a domestic worker in private spaces with cleaning in public spaces. To accommodate these particular experiences, as well as the evidence of movement of migrant workers from domestic service to contract

cleaning, it is crucial to extend Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila's typology to include *public* contract cleaners.

Third, the definitions for domestic and contract cleaning have also been critiqued for not acknowledging overlaps with care work or the combination of manual, mental and emotional labour, which are at the root of the concept of social reproduction (Anderson, 2003; Datta *et al*, 2010; Duffy, 2005). Social reproduction is interpreted as the process and activities necessary for the reproduction of the workforce, both biologically and as waged workers. More generally, social reproduction is concerned with how society as a whole is reproduced and transformed over time (Fine and Saad-Filho, 2004, 70). Feminist scholars argue that in reproducing the workforce, it is inherently relational, involving not only tasks but emotional attachment (to the child, elderly person or the employer) (Aranda, 2003). Some authors respond to this constrain by recognising the difference between cleaning and care work, and between care giving for their own family (see for example, Lyon and Glucksmann, 2008; Raijman *et al*, 2003; Yeates, 2005).

Fourth, this research suggests that another element of critique of the ILO definitions is the lack of consideration of migrant men. To date the main focus of much research has been on the outsourcing of domestic work to female migrant workers, namely cleaning and care work. This is despite increasing evidence across Europe of domestic service and contract cleaning being transformed into a line of work also carried out by male migrant workers. Kilkey (2010) suggests the need to consider gender-segregated tasks and draws on a wider definition that includes both feminised (e.g. cleaning and care-giving) and masculinised tasks (e.g. household gardening, driving, maintenance, heavy cleaning, and caring for the elderly) that are carried out in private as well as public spaces (Lyon and Glucksmann, 2008; Raijman *et al*, 2003).

Finally, and with regard to transnational families, this study agrees that there is a need to explore migrant workers' care giving responsibilities for their children through transnational parenting, as well as after family reunification, and also suggests emphasising on the role of transnational fathers and on 'other-mothers' in the country of origin (Avila and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1997 on the US; Datta *et al*, 2009 on the UK; Lyon and Glucksmann, 2008 on Europe; Priblisky, 2004 on the US; Schmalzbauer, 2004).

Responding to the above debates, this research differentiates between migrants performing cleaning work in different spaces – when carrying out *domestic work (live-in, live-out, housecleaning)* in private homes, and *contract cleaning* in public places. Although this study is mostly concerned with cleaning, when necessary it will also address the links between cleaning and paid *care work* for elderly people and children. Also central is that the work is mostly concerned with migrants' care giving ability for their families locally in Madrid and across borders encompassed in the terms *residential* and *transnational parenting*, or more specifically *transnational motherhood* and *transnational fatherhood*.

Structure of the thesis

The first part of the thesis analyses the theory, context, and methodology of the research. **Chapter 1** is this introduction and **Chapter 2** lays out the theoretical and conceptual framework used in the study. The first section of the chapter reviews the gendered nature of international migration theory and the transnational migration approach, which has received increasing attention in research in recent years given the widespread movement of migrant workers from the Global South to North. The second part of the chapter situates research from the field of gender and transnational migration and considers its relevance for the current research project. This provides the main rationale for the study in light of that fact that there has been a call for more empirical research on theorising the gendered nature of the transnational family in order to analyse the real impact of the Global South to North international labour migration flows.

Chapter 3 includes important contextualisation of why migrants leave Ecuador and move to Spain given the socio-economic and political situation, migration patterns, and prevailing constructions of gender identities and ideologies in Ecuador. First, it reviews the recent socio-economic and political crisis in the country, which sets the context for Ecuadorian migration over the past decade or so. Second, it details the evolution of the low-paid labour market and the role of the Ecuadorian community in Spain. Third, the chapter explores recent changes in gender roles, relations and identities in Ecuador to be able to contextualise the discussions on gender and transnational migration.

In addressing the issues identified in Chapter 3, **Chapter 4** explains the methodological approach of the thesis highlighting the need to move beyond the current quantitative versus qualitative focus towards a mixed method and multi-local focus. The

methodological framework outlined draws on both a qualitative and quantitative research based on a questionnaire survey with 100 migrant workers and a total of 75 in-depth interviews, as well as focus groups and participant observation in Madrid. It also included a transnational dimension that involved fieldwork in two of Ecuador's regions (Highlands and Amazon) which entailed 11 in-depth interviews with family members residing in Ecuador, a total of 8 semi-structured interviews with key informants, as well as participant observation. The questionnaire and interviews interrogated the gendered processes of migration, employment trajectories in Madrid, the impact of domestic work and contract cleaning on gender identities, and on the lives of their families in both the countries of origin and destination.

Before moving to the core empirical chapters of the thesis, **Chapter 5** draws on the survey and in-depth interviews to provide an overview of the experiences of Ecuadorian domestic and contract cleaners in Madrid. It broadly presents the empirical findings and highlights the similarities and differences among Ecuadorian migrant men and women in the migration process, as well in relation to the wider themes of integration in the host society and transnational connections to their country of origin.

Chapter 6 examines Ecuadorian men and women's employment patterns in domestic service and contract cleaning jobs. On the one hand, employment in domestic and cleaning work is central to the lives of all migrant labour workers to improve economic opportunities for themselves and their families, and their precarious position in the workplace was represented by low wages, remarkably long work hours, and a decline in social status. Evidence from this study also shows that female employment is marked by gendered differences. For instance, women had greater access and quicker entry to domestic work, but men had a higher salary, greater mobility, and a wider range of jobs available to them in different sectors of the labour market.

Chapter 7 analyses the highly contested role of the low-paid male and female migrant workers in the transnational family. The indication of current research is that women are largely involved in 'private' initiatives by maintaining family links through 'transnational motherhood'. This chapter sets out to analyse the notion of men's 'private' transnational activities to care for family members in the country of origin and provides evidence of transnational fathering. This chapter also concentrates on the reconstruction of the transnational family among those left behind, an aspect that has been generally ignored by studies mainly because the emphasis has been on the experiences in the receiving country.

Chapter 8 examines family reunification, a neglected aspect of the transnational family which relates to the ways in which women and men migrant workers integrate into the host society. Studies tend to highlight the prominence of transnational mothering but as discussed in Chapter 7, recent Ecuadorian migration to Spain is marked by high levels of family reunification which raises important issues in relation to the work-life balance in the host country.

Finally, **Chapter 9** is a summary of the findings and conclusion of this thesis. Throughout the chapter, the conceptual and empirical contributions of the research will situate Ecuadorian men and women workers within a gender and transnational family migration analysis. Finally some questions and suggestions for further research on gender and migration are raised from the Ecuadorians experience in international labour migration flows, a process which seemingly leads to growing inequality, both between genders and between nations.

CHAPTER 2

Gender, International Labour Migration and Transnational Families: A Review

Over the past three decades there has been a significant scholarly interest in the field of gender and international migration. The focus of the early studies has been on the participation of women in migration flows. This is partly in response to the long tradition of gender-blind literature on migration theory and empirical studies of international migration, and also to the awareness of the increased female participation in migratory flows from the Global South to developed nations. As research has matured, growing bodies of work on gender and migration, and on men and migration, highlight that gender is both relational and a key constitutive element of the migratory process, and call for the incorporation of both men and women into analyses in order to understand how gender roles, relations and identities transform throughout the migratory process at different scales (Boehm, 2004; Datta *et al*, 2008 ; Datta *et al*, 2009; McKay, 2007; McIlwaine, 2010; McIlwaine *et al*, 2004; Pribilsky, 2004 on the US).

Despite advances in the field of gender and international labour migration, and on men and migration, authors argue that most research did not consider gender as a key constitutive element of transnational migration (see Mahler 1999, 1998; Mahler and Pessar, 2006; Pessar, 2001; Pessar and Graham, 2001; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Initially, in the transnational approach to migration "gender was featured much less prominently than other socially stratifying forces such as race, ethnicity, and nation" (2006, 42; see also Anderson, 2001). However, scholarship in this field gradually started to see gender as a key area of inquiry in international labour flows, and to investigate "the degree to which participation in transnational activities and in transnational social fields in general is gendered" (Mahler, 1998, 83).

When considering the role of gender in sustaining transnational relations across borders, studies have revolved mostly around migrant female domestic worker's role in the family (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). Mostly from a global care chain approach (GCC), broadly described as a series of links between women across the globe based on providing care, scholars such as Arlie Hochschild (2000, 2003), Ernestine Avila (1997), Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1994), Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo (1997, 2001, 2003), and Rhacel Salazar-Parrenas (2000, 2001, 2003, 2005) have

produced US-based research on migrant female domestic workers role as 'transnational mothers' for children in the country of origin. However, when considering the European context there is an important lacuna. To date, research on transnational families neglect migrant women's experiences beyond their care giving roles in the country of origin, as well as migrant men's position, especially those men from developing nations that migrate to carry out feminised jobs and sustain strong transnational family ties (McIlwaine, 2010; Yeates, 2004).

This chapter aims to explore how scholarship on gender and migration has been combined to understand recent migratory flows from the Global South to developed nations. The first section of this chapter will broadly review research on international labour and transnational migration to focus on the recent analytical elements in the field of gender and transnational migration, and on masculinities and migration. The second section attempts to link the theories and concepts analysed above with studies of gender and migration by exploring migrant workers experiences in the labour market, specifically domestic work and contract cleaning. Finally, the chapter will explore the gendered nature of migrant workers transnational family relations. Broadly speaking, this chapter reviews the general features of migrant workers productive and reproductive roles to argue that drawing on recent transnational conceptualisations in gender and migration, and men and migration, can contribute to recent calls that highlight how the configuration of transnational families, family reunification and local family forms are central to understanding the gendered experiences of migration.

A Transnational Perspective on International Labour Migration

International unskilled labour migration is roughly defined as the movement of persons from one country to another for purposes of employment (ILO, 2010). It is now well established that traditional theories of migration are increasingly unable to satisfactorily explain the complexities of current labour migration flows, giving way to the emergence of new approaches. Traditionally, labour migration from developing nations to the Global North was understood as a temporary movement, relating to the cases in which migrants were expected to return to their place of origin once their work contracts ended. As labour migrants, and in some cases their families, settled into the host society, governments formulated and implemented an assimilation or multi-cultural migration model. In the first case, the assimilation model assumes that over several generations migrants will become a part of the majority population and that cultural and ethnic diversity are considered to be temporary phenomena (Brubaker, 2001). The

second multi-cultural approach recognises that over time some migrants will retain different aspects of their cultures and develop ethnic identities distinct from that of the majority population (Kivisto, 2001, 2003). The traditional migration theory and migration policy implied that settlement was a process 'of migration *from* and migration *to* particular nation states' (Anthias, 2000, 21-22). Although it had been frequently noted that migrant workers often retain contacts with family and friends in their place of origin and remit money, the emphasis was on the process of adaptation to the society of settlement as ties to the country of origin were understood only as temporary (Foner, 1997). More recent interpretations to the process of settlement, and influenced by the network approach that argues that migrants do not disconnect from their country of origin, the research by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc Szanton developed a framework to study the processes and practices through which migrants continue to be involved in their societies of origin as they settle in the society of destination (Basch *et al.*, 1994; Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1992; Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1995). This work argued that contemporary international migration can be best understood as transnational migration:

Several generations of researchers have viewed immigrants as persons who uproot themselves, leave behind a home and country, and face the painful process of incorporation into a different society and culture, current transnational migration better reflects migrants that settle and become incorporated in the daily life and institutions of the country in which they reside however at the same time migrants are engaged elsewhere (Glick Schiller *et al.* 1995, 48).

The transnational approach to international labour migration, broadly defined as a 'set of sustained long-distance, border crossing, connections', moves beyond the traditional emphasis on settlement to focus on how migrants have complex relations 'involving social, symbolic and material ties between homelands, destinations and relations between destinations' (Vertovec, 2004, 3). Numerous studies have emerged examining the conformation of *transnational communities* and the emergence of *transnational social fields*. In the first case, the transnational communities approach first emerged in US-based research to examine the economic ventures of migrants as a response from 'below' (grassroots activity), and also to globalisation imposed from 'above' (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998). In the second, a transnational social field is defined as 'a field of social interactions and exchanges that transcend political and geographical boundaries' (Itzigsohn *et al.*, 1999, 317). Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen (2004) argue that transnational social fields are useful because it links migrants various social and economic practices of migrants with those who stay behind. Datta *et al*

(2009) point out that migrant workers in the host country are significant to shaping social fields, but the focus on the country of origin remains understudied.

As work on transnational migration is emerging, criticisms have also grown. The most common critiques refer to the risk of viewing transnational migration as something new, assuming that all migrant workers and their practices are transnational, and questioning the sustainability of these links over time (see Boyle, 2002; Vertovec, 2004). In the first case, authors agree that although transnationalism in itself is not new, the scale and intensity of transnational practices is novel (see Boyle, 2002; Foner, 2005; Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec, 2004). Some authors have debated how much transnationalism is just a function of globalisation. New transportation and communication technologies such as airplanes, videos, television, internet, and cheaper phone services, particularly the use of mobile phones, all shrink distances to make connections quicker, cheaper, and easier (Horst, 2006; Mejía Estévez, 2005; Vertovec, 2004a). In terms of the second criticism on overvaluing transnational activities, Portes (2001) argues that even if transnational migrant activities are numerically less significant than estimated, they are still important because of the potential impact on both receiving and sending communities. Recent debates on 'co-development' have attracted attention because of the possibility for development in the societies of origin (see Carling, 2005; Escrivá and Ribas, 2004; Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen, 2004). Studies have attempted to resolve these debates by using different typologies for transnationalism. To name a few: 'narrow' (institutional and continuous activities) and 'broad' transnationalism (occasional linkages); 'great' (of state and economy) and 'little' transnationalism (of family and household); 'linear' (including plans to return to place of origin), 'resource-based' (linked with labour market position and mobility) and 'reactive' transnationalism (especially based on discrimination); 'broad' (including both regular and occasional activities) and 'strict' transnationalism (regular participation only) (Vertovec, 2004, 5). The last criticism is partly related to the fact that the transnational phenomenon is linked mostly to first generation migrants and as a response to migrant workers difficulties with integration. This has generated debates to whether transnationalism hinders or aids the processes of integration of migrants into the host society. More recently, authors argue that in a highly globalised world transnational links and migrant incorporation can co-exist without conflict (Itzigsohn *et al.*, 1999; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2005). In a similar line to Cock (2009), this study agrees that migrants are connected to their places of origin

and at the same time they are negotiating their sense of belonging in their place of residence.

Gender and International Labour Migration: Gendered Outcomes of Migration

Increased awareness about the active participation of women in international migration, along with growing interest in the social sciences on women, gave way to the emergence of a focus on gender and migration. It is established that gender has been ignored in traditional theories of international migration (see Boyd and Grieco, 2003; Chant and Radcliffe, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999). Women's exclusion from early international migration research was mostly related to women's limited role in the migratory process as 'trailing spouses'. Feminist scholar's exclusive 'women only' approach remedied the exclusion of women in international migration research. By 1984 there was enough research to publish a special issue in the *International Migration Review* titled 'Women in Migration' on migrant female experiences in the United States and in Europe (Pessar, 1984; Sassen-Koob, 1984; Morokvasic, 1984). The article by Morokvasic titled 'Birds of Passage are also Women' highlighted the increasing visibility of women as international migrants and wage-earners in the European context, but also stressed that the issue of women and migration required more attention.

Ongoing feminist scholars contributed to a focus on gender, one that is relational, dynamic, and intersected with other axes of power such as race, class, etc. During the 1990s the gender and migration approach focused on a critique of the *household strategies approach*, one that recognised that the household was as crucial in determining women's movement, as well as individual motivations and wage labour opportunities. Indeed, there were debates around the differences in the definition of a household. Feminist scholars objected to the notion that migrant households were homogenous and organised on principles of altruism and co-operation, instead embracing its conceptualisation that while households are sometimes guided by norms of solidarity, hierarchies of power along the lines of gender may equally inform them. Fundamental to the household strategies approach were the ways in which patriarchy constructed the household division of labour¹ and power relations which in turn were crucial in explaining women's participation in migration and more specifically in

¹ A gendered (or sexual) division of labour refers to the way men and women's activities and roles are divided. A traditional view, for example, was that women were tied to the unproductive domestic sphere (child-rearing, caring, cooking, etc) and men were economic providers in the public sphere (for a critique of this notion of separate spheres and roles see Laurie et al, 1999).

'understanding who migrates, why, where, with whom and for how long' (Chant, 2002, 229).

Parallel to this, research on gender and international migration also drew attention to migrant women's labour market entry. Work on 'migration and emancipation' emphasised the positive effects of migrant women's productive work. It was argued that paid work allowed women to escape from the constraints of patriarchal control to an environment of greater capacity to negotiate gendered roles and relations (Menjívar, 1999; Pessar, 1999 both on the US). This was evidenced through increasing financial independence for women leading to greater decision-making power over budgets and in the household (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Finally, and from the most recent approach on gender being considered a constitutive element of migration, this position has moved beyond the household analysis and challenged with specific employment experiences. The potential gains for female labour migrants have been largely undermined by gender asymmetries within the labour market. Migrant women are concentrated in both female-dominated and feminised work such as domestic service which are low-paid, low-status, and are characterised by its exploitative labour practices (Anderson and Phizacklea, 1997; Morokvasic, 1984). With regard to migration from the Global South to the North, it does not entail a linear shift from a 'stereotypical traditional gender ideology to a modern and liberated one' (McIlwaine, 2010, 283; also see Gutmann, 2004). Challenging this dichotomy, authors therefore argue that although migrant women may enjoy gains in one sphere they may experience strains in another thus, '...gains have been uneven and even contradictory' (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, 568; also see McIlwaine, 2010; Morokvasic, 1984). The broad consensus is that female experiences are different in international labour migration which 'reaffirms and transforms gender relations' and they have 'experiences of both benefits and losses' (Menjívar, 1999, 621; also see Datta *et al*, 2010).

Engendering Transnational Migration

Gender is a constitutive element to migration, yet Mahler and Pessar argue that initially, in the transnational approach to international labour migration, 'gender was featured much less prominently than other socially stratifying forces such as race, ethnicity, and nationality' (2006, 42). Mahler and Pessar (2001) contributed to research on gender and transnational migration by developing a framework titled 'Gendered geography of power in transnational spaces'. The framework helps to analyse people's social agency given their own position within multiple hierarchies. This

conceptualisation has not been widely applied in empirical contexts to date mainly because studies tend to explore only a limited range of scales. For instance, most of the work on gender and transnational migration has focused on women in terms of motherhood, especially East-Asian and Latin American domestic workers in the US. Most recently, however, research is expanding to consider other contexts and women's role with both settlement and transnationalism in a wider range of spaces and activities (for instance, Bermudez, 2008, Jones-Correa, 1998; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta and Garcia, 2010 all on political participation; Huang and Yeoh 1996; Raghuram, 2008; Ryan 2002; Yeoh and Willis 2004, for an Asian perspective; McIlwaine, 2008, 2010 for recent work on Europe).

The critical question remains whether international migration and transnational activities change gender roles, relations, and identities among migrant workers. The general indication from migration research seems to be that men are more involved in maintaining transnational linkages with their countries of origin, in an attempt to protect their social status and privileges. Some argue that transnational men are often in charge of collective or formal transnational initiatives such as hometown associations (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Jones-Correa, 1998; Mahler and Pessar, 2006). Women, on the other hand, are more involved in activities oriented towards their new place of settlement (Jones-Correa, 1998; Goldring, 2001). The exception would be the role played by migrant women in the family, especially through transnational motherhood (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). However, these conclusions are still based on studies researching a limited range of contexts with few explicitly addressing the role of migrant men in the family. Therefore, this study will give special attention to Ecuadorian male worker's 'private' connections through transnational parenthood.

Men, Masculinities and Transnational Migration

Research on the experiences of migrant men remains limited. This is partly related to the traditional view that international labour migration was predominantly masculine, and also to increasing attention on women's migration. In scholarship on gender and migration migrant men are usually homogenously positioned as 'custodians of patriarchy' or 'deviant others' (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, Mahler, 1999, Menjivar, 1999; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Within wider research on gender, and in Datta *et al* (2009), the authors highlight that studies tended to revolve around 'deficit' masculinities in relation to issues such as family desertion, 'hyper-masculinities' in association with gender violence and the failure to take on reproductive responsibilities. These

uncompromising views of men are increasingly challenged by a small body of work devoted to gendered approaches to migration (Boehm, 2004; Datta *et al*, 2008; Datta *et al*, 2009; McIlwaine *et al*, 2004; Pribilsky, 2004). The emerging research on men and international migration shows that their experiences are highly variable and are marked along the lines of race, class, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality age, etc. (Datta *et al*, 2009). McIlwaine's (2010) study on Latin American men and women in London finds that differences among men are organised in relation to a 'double masculine consciousness' as men may manifest opposing marginalised and hegemonic masculinities. For instance, Latin American migrants' marginalised masculinity is related to their downward social mobility through migration, yet in some cases men manifested an exaggeration of masculinity in their households in order to compensate for wider experiences of disempowerment (see also Andrade 2003; Andrade and Herrera, 2001; Fuller, 2003 on Peru; Guttman, 1996 and Zamudio, 2008 on Mexico; Menívar Ochoa, 2010; Ortega Hegg, 2004; Vargas-Lundius, 2007). In addition, differences among migrant men are also constructed and negotiated in transnational social spaces and may 'differ sharply in the several places they live' (Datta *et al*, 2006, 6). The emerging research calls for the need to incorporate men's 'mobile' identities to understand 'how these travel and how these identities are remade at each stage of the migration project' (Datta *et al*, 2009, 854; McIlwaine, 2010). Drawing on these nuanced insights on men's diverse identities, this research intends to explore how these are constructed, negotiated, and compete in the labour market and in the transnational family both the countries of origin and destination.

The above section explored how scholarship on gender and international migration, and elements of a transnational approach, and masculinities and migration, can be combined to understand recent migratory flows from the Global South to developed nations. Taking this into consideration, the following segment will analyse how research on gender and migration are addressed in relation to concepts around migrant men and women's experiences in the labour market, specifically in domestic work and contract cleaning, as well as the role of gender in the construction of transnational family relations and parenting.

Historical and Current Trends in Domestic Work

Domestic service has been long preformed by migrant women (see Cox, 2006 on the UK; Sarti, 2006 on Southern Europe). Today, domestic workers travel from developing nations to the Global North but historically they moved from rural to urban areas. The

vast majority of these servants, in the past as now, were women. Men were also employed in domestic service but Moya (2007) shows that from a global perspective the employment of women was less expensive and widely accessible across various social classes. In the particular case of Spain, for example, rural Spanish women migrated from rural to urban areas to access employment (Colectivo loé, 1990). More recently, the daughters of Spanish women previously employed as domestic workers now have higher levels of education and moved onto higher skilled jobs. As a result, by the early 1990s it became clear that there were not enough Spanish women available to meet the rising demand for domestic labour and the country became increasingly reliant on workers from developing nations. Initially, Filipino and Portuguese women substituted for the lack of Spanish rural women as domestic workers; later, the void was filled by Polish, Moroccan, Dominican, Peruvian, and Colombian women and most recently, by Ecuadorian, Bolivian, and Paraguayan women (Escrivá, 2000).

It is well-founded that the bulk of scholarship on gender and migration is concerned with the migrant women's concentration in unskilled domestic labour. This is partly related to the growing feminisation of international labour migration flows from developing countries to the North (see Castles and Miller, 2003; Oso Casas and Garson, 2005; Sharpe, 2001). Also, it is associated with paid domestic work being considered a female-dominated area of the labour market with disproportionate numbers of female workers (see Anderson, 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002). Some authors problematise the lack of consideration of women's educational attainment and the deskilling effects of migration and domestic service. Camacho (2009) on Ecuadorian female domestic workers, for example, prefers to enhance representations of migrant women linked to the 'brain drain' phenomenon in the country of origin. Similarly, Yeates (2004, 2005, 2006, 2009) explores the experiences of Irish nurses, and calls for more studies on migrant women's different skills and occupational levels to reflect the increase in skilled labour migration as a feature of the feminisation and globalisation of domestic service. While domestic work, including caring, is crucial to the globalisation of domestic service, and as discussed in Chapter 1, this study will focus mostly on cleaning jobs for two main reasons. First, there is empirical evidence that migrant women in the European context are slowly moving in the domestic service hierarchy (live-in, live-out, and hourly worker), and at some point in the employment trajectories it is increasingly common for migrant women to work in contract cleaning jobs (Catarino and Oso, 2000; Datta *et al*, 2009; Herrerra, 2005; Pedone, 2007; Wills *et al*, 2010). Second, and most recent, there is growing empirical evidence there is a

'revival' of male domestic workers and cleaners in the European context (Sarti, 2010, 16). This is partly because of the large migration flows from developing nations, and also because it is considered a means of subsistence (Bartolomei, 2010; Kilkey, 2010; Näre, 2010; Pedone, 2007; Sarti, 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010).

Conceptual Perspectives on International Migration and Domestic Work

Feminist scholar's key concern with migrant women access to the labour market in the Global North is their concentration in domestic service in private households. Domestic work embodies various inequalities with few possibilities for improving gender inequalities. There is some evidence of the positive effects of women's financial independence on gender relations in the household, but these are largely overshadowed by domestic work's working condition marked by low-pay, low-status, exploitative labour practices, and limited options for labour market mobility in the country of settlement (Anderson, 1996, 2000, 2001a; Escrivá, 2000 on Peruvians in Spain). It is widely acknowledged that migrant women access to the labour market in the Global North is marked by domesticity with few opportunities for improving their lives beyond their ability to earn a wage and send home money (Parreñas, 2001).

While not necessarily in opposition to the above on working conditions, other studies on the migrant women's entry into domestic service are largely concerned with social divisions. Most obviously, they reflect the divisions of class, income and status, with their employer's household. Studies on domestic service, premised on the 'natural' role of women, recognise that any potential gains are undermined by asymmetries among the migrant female domestic worker and the female employer (see Laurie *et al*, 1999 for a discussion). This is mostly because as early as 1986, Glenn identified hierarchies in the female relationship as a feature of domestic employment in the US. More recently, a vast number of studies across the Global North have illustrated similar inequalities among women through a variety of concepts including status, maternalism, family-based ideologies, moral debt, hierarchy of preference, stereotyping, and the formation of occupational ghettos.

In the first case, migrant female workers perform tasks that symbolise *status* distinction with the female employer. Anderson (2001) on migrant female live-in domestic workers in England finds that they may be expected to do degrading tasks that include flushing their employers' toilets, clean pet cats' anuses and scrub the floor with a toothbrush

three times a day. In performing these tasks some authors argue that the female employer differentiates herself from the female domestic workers to reproduce notions of femininity based on race and ethnicity. On the one hand, the female employer is viewed as the 'Madonna' or a 'moral/spiritual supporter to the family' and the migrant female domestic worker is considered a 'doer of dirty work' (Anderson, 2001a, 23; also see Anderson, 1996, 2000; Chang, 2000; Cox, 2006; Laurie *et al*, 1999; Lutz, 2008). In this sense, domestic work implies downward status for migrant women while simultaneously affirms the privileged position of the female employer within the household (Escrivá, 2001).

Other studies illustrate that migrant female domestic workers not only affirm the female employer's status but also that of the household as a whole. Anderson (2001a) finds that similar to owning the right car, or living in the right area, it becomes essential for some families to employ a migrant female domestic worker to reproduce their household status by sustaining a privileged lifestyle:

Nobody has to have stripped pine floorboards, hand-wash only silk shirts, dust gathering ornaments, they all create domestic work, but they affirm the status of the household, its class, its access to resources of finance and personnel (ibid, 21).

Thus, the presence of a domestic worker reinforces the household's privileged position within wider social relations. Household status, and inequalities between migrant domestic worker and female employers, is reproduced through the various generations. As a Filipina domestic workers in Athens described:

I heard children playing, they are playing house. The other child said, "I am Daddy." The other child said, "I am Mummy." And then, "She is a Filipina." So what does the child mean, even the child knows or it's already learning that if you are a Filipina you are a servant in the house (Anderson, 2001, 28).

Another concern with the unequal female employer-employee relationship are debates around the notion of maternalism, which is roughly understood as a friendly relationship between women which validates the female employer's kindness and superiority while portraying the migrant female domestic worker as a 'childlike inferior' or 'perpetual child' (Anderson 2001, 2001a, 2003; Radcliffe, 1990 on Latin America). Findings show, for example, that female employers give domestic workers used clothes, offer advice, help or guidance and exercise maternalism as a form of charity. In turn, the notion of maternalism is represented as 'an important mechanism of employer power' to

encourage migrant domestic workers to work harder while reinforcing inequalities among women where the female employer is represented as kind, and the foreign domestic worker as morally and culturally inferior (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001, 11; also see Anderson, 1996; Yeoh and Huang, 1998). Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) argues that in the context of the US, maternalism is now largely absent and a new, more unequal, employer-employee relationship prevails. The author shows that most female employers in Los Angeles do not act maternally towards their Latin American migrant domestic worker but rather go to great lengths to minimise personal interactions because of their increased responsibilities with career and family life, as well as general discomfort with domestic servitude (see Cox and Narula, 2003 for similar findings on au pairs in London). Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) finds that the distant employer-employee relationship actually does more to exacerbate inequality by denying domestic workers a form of social recognition and appreciation for their work.

In the third case, the unequal nature of the women-to-women relationship is also exacerbated by the idea of being one of the family (see Anderson, 1996, 2001 on the UK; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003 on the US; Stiell and England, 1997, 1999 on Canada). A primary concern with the invisible and informal nature of domestic work is that female employers are reluctant to view themselves as employers and the workers as employees, but view them instead as part of the family. The discourse of the worker being 'one of the family', to the disadvantage of the migrant female worker, means the erasure of the worker's own identity:

While being part of the family may be perceived by the employer as a great favour, for the worker it may be experienced as a denial of their humanity, a deep depersonalisation, as being perceived only in their occupational role, as a 'domestic' rather than as a person with their own needs, their own life and their own family outside the employers' home. By incorporating the worker "as part of the family" employers can not only ignore their worker's other relationships but can feel good about doing so – for it is an honour to be part of the family (Anderson, 1996, 159).

Moving beyond the female employer-employee relationship, there are also unequal notions around the female employer and migrant female domestic worker reproduced through stereotypes around national identities. Research finds that employers have a hierarchy of preference for migrant women on the basis of different nationalities, without consideration for skill or educational attainment (Anderson, 1999, 2001; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Sole and Parella, 2003; Stiell and England, 1999). Therefore, ethnicity is a significant factor in the hierarchy of preference, which distinguishes between the tasks performed by certain migrant women. According to Still and

England on Canada (1999), located at the apex of the hierarchy are British *nannies* (child care), second tier are the Filipinas who do *housecleaning* and finally, third tier are Jamaican *domestic workers* (general labour). Prior to entering the labour market, the role of various institutions is central to creating a gendered and ethnic low-paid labour market. For domestic workers, for example, placement agencies are fundamental in reinforcing stereotypes around ethnicity and nationality (Andall, 2003; Anderson, 1999; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Cox, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Pratt, 1997; Stiell and England, 1999; Tyner, 1999). More specifically, agencies place female migrant workers depending on the idea that certain nationalities are better at certain tasks. In Madrid, for instance, religious placement agencies stereotype Ecuadorian women as good cleaners (Wagner, 2005).

Few studies explore migrant men's position in domestic service. This is partly because it is a female-dominated area of the labour market, and also because feminist scholars argue that it is marked by female inequalities. While valid, there is growing empirical evidence that there is a 'revival' of male domestic workers in the European context mainly because of the large migration flows from developing nations (Sarti, 2010, 16; Bartolomei, 2010; Kilkey, 2010; Näre, 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010). When migrant men move into this line of work research stresses that it is critically important to understand the effects on the construction of masculinities. Findings show, for example, male migrant domestic workers develop strategies to masculinise the workplace through differentiation. For instance, when men work in female-dominated sector of the labour market findings show that they specialise as butlers, gardeners, chauffeurs, chefs, window cleaners, and carers of elderly men in order to professionalise their jobs (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009; Moya, 2007). Also, it is assumed that migrant men progress more quickly than women, and negotiate with the employer, to better positions in the labour market (Näre, 2010; Williams, 1995 on the US). However, Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2009) on Mexican gardeners in the US, argue that migrant men's position is 'analogous to the longstanding labour incorporation of female immigrant domestic workers into affluent household' (ibid, 70). Thus, recent research argues that in addition to examining men in stereotypically female tasks, studies need to broaden conceptualisations to interrogate the ways in which stereotypically male areas of domestic work, such as gardening, household repair, maintenance, etc (Kilkey, 2010). This study responds to this gap by focusing on Ecuadorian men and women's position and diverse tasks performed in domestic service in Spain.

The Gendered Nature of Contract Cleaning

There is growing empirical evidence across Europe that migrant women are moving from domestic service into contract cleaning, and migrant men from developing countries are also increasingly performing this line of work (Catarino and Oso, 2000 on Portugal and Spain; Colectivo Ioe, 2001 on Spain; Datta *et al*, 2009, 2010; Evans *et al*, 2005; Herrera, 2005 on Spain; Kilkey, 2010 on the UK; May *et al* 2007 on the UK; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006 on the UK; Perrons *et al*, 2010 on the UK; Pedone, 2007 on Spain; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010; Wills, 2009; Wills *et al*, 2010). In comparison to domestic service, contract cleaning is also considered 'female' work but it is not a female-dominated area due to the larger number of men that carry out this line of work. Nevertheless, and similar to domestic service, it remains heavily hierarchical along the lines of gender and ethnicity. In the first case, it is found that migrant experiences in cleaning in public spaces are influenced by gender. In London, for example, various authors find that migrant men and women do different jobs (Evans *et al*, 2005; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006). Migrant women often concentrated in cleaning 'semi private' spaces such as in hotels as chambermaids in contrast to migrant men who are more likely to work in 'semi public' spaces such as cleaning in offices or on the Underground (for similar findings see Colectivo Ioe, 2000 on Spain). Findings also show that women have preferential access to contract cleaning and are clearly favoured, especially for higher qualified positions with equal or better pay (McIlwaine, 2008).

In the second case, and also similar to domestic service, migrant contract cleaners also experience divisions along the lines of ethnicity. There is evidence that specific ethnic groups are overrepresented in certain spaces because subcontracting agencies create a hierarchy of preference based on nationality. For example, it has been found that when comparing different ethnicities, more Black Africans are concentrated in cleaning on the London Underground which has poorer working conditions than domiciliary care, for example (Evans *et al*, 2005; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006). In a similar case in Lisbon, Black African women that occupy cleaning jobs are left with the most physically demanding, least desirable cleaning tasks and in the least preferable areas of the city during anti social working hours (Catarino and Oso, 2000). The role of the supervisors is particularly crucial in determining the ethnic character of the cleaning sector, as they are responsible for the recruiting process (Wills *et al*, 2010). In relation to Colombians in London, Lagnado quoted the experiences of a male migrant cleaner: "In the companies I've worked in more than half have been Colombians. It all depends on the

manager – if he's Portuguese, then Portuguese arrive, if he's Colombian then the majority of cleaners are Colombian" (ibid, 2004, 24; see also Evans, 2005; Wills, 2009). Related to this, research also finds that hierarchical ethnic stereotypes are reproduced through informal employee networks. Informal networks are essential for the newly arrived migrants as they reduce the risks of migration by quickly providing employment opportunities. However, it is argued that these networks can reproduce an occupational ghetto for certain ethnic groups. Authors find that certain ethnicities cluster into specific jobs through their own ethnic networks but also because employers rely on informal networks to employ friends or relatives of migrant workers (Colectivo loé, 2000 on Spain; Cox, 1999 on female domestic workers; Gallo, 2006 on male domestic workers in Italy, McIlwaine *et al*, 2006 on cleaners in London). Less research has picked up on the notion of stereotyping *among* migrants. Stereotyping around nationality can be constructed or reinforced by the migrant's perception of themselves and their work and among migrants by presenting their nationality using positive stereotypes and other ethnic groups in negative terms. It has been found that migrants are more likely to boast about belonging to a particular ethnic group and comment negatively on others (Chang, 2000 on the US; Colectivo loé, 2000 on Spain; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006 on London).

This emerging area of research problematises the presence of migrant male workers in feminised jobs. This is partly in response to the increasing visibility of migrant men in these sectors of the labour market, and also because cleaning is often viewed as a so-called 'natural female role' (but see Laurie *et al*, 1999 for a critique). When migrant men move into gender-atypical occupations research stresses that it is critically important to understand the significance of masculinities, rather than as a homogenous 'black box', often more so than the construction of femininities (Datta *et al*, 2009, 869; McIlwaine, 2010). Findings show, for example, that migrant women tend to stress that their work is easy while migrant men develop strategies and rationales for coping with the challenges to their masculinity (McIlwaine *et al*, 2006). More specifically, migrant men may highlight the more masculine elements of their work, valorise their own ethnic position within the labour market by undermining that of other ethnic groups, and justify their work as a means to fulfil their traditional role of breadwinner through transnational activities such as sending remittances and supporting their family in the country of origin. Overall, and again in comparison to women's position, findings suggest that migrant men are not much better off, as they can be dually marginalised for working in a feminised job, for being a migrant of a minority ethnic group in the receiving country,

and for forging strong transnational parental ties (Datta *et al*, 2009; Gallo, 2006; McIlwaine, 2006, 2008, 2010 on London; Pribilsky, 2004; also see Fuller, 2001 on Peru).

Cleaning Jobs across Private and Public Spaces

Cleaning jobs carried out in private household and as contract cleaners, regardless of the place of work, share some similar features which remain heavily hierarchical along the lines of gender and ethnicity. As shown above, migrant male and female workers in both domestic service and contract cleaning jobs share common experiences based on hierarchical relationships, which are reinforced by stereotypes, networks and institutions. This study on Ecuadorian migrant workers in Madrid will examine their experiences with cleaning jobs across both private and public spaces, given that the public and private spheres of work cannot be adequately analysed as separate spaces but merit consideration as a continuum.

The Gendered Nature of Transnational Families

In broader research on transnational migration, and as discussed above, studies of immigrant communities have moved away from the traditional assimilation migration model towards the recognition that migrants do not detach themselves from their home country but nourish social, economic and political linkages with the country of origin (Itzigsohn *et al.*, 1999). Over the past decades, and largely due to the intense processes of globalisation, there has been increasing work on the effects of international labour migration on the household. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, 3) define transnational families as 'families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity across borders'. Currently, most scholarship on gender and transnational families highlights migrant women's prominent role in the family, while men are hardly featured. This is partly related to the feminisation of migration from developing countries to the Global North, and also to migrant men being illustrated through 'deficit' masculinities, relating to issues of family desertion, or through 'hypermasculinities', associated with gender violence, or the failure of men 'left behind' to take on reproductive responsibilities (Datta *et al*, 2009, 853-854; also see Boehm, 2004 on Mexico; Elson, 1999; Gamburd, 2003 on Sri Lanka; Menjivar and Salcido, 2002 on the US).

Thus far, and from a global care chains perspective (GCC), feminist scholarship emphasises migrant women's care giving role in sustaining transnational family relations. The GCC approach focuses on how 'a series of personal links between women across the globe are based on the paid or unpaid work of caring' (Hochschild, 2000, 131), and challenges interpretations that mothering is natural and universal and is moving towards a new rhetoric where women from developing nations are unequally positioned and cannot always fulfil reproductive and productive responsibilities in the same country (see Laurie *et al*, 1999). The GCC denotes two main phenomena where on the one hand, middle class women's entry into the labour market in the Global North is increasingly met by women from the Global South and on the other hand, migrant women, in turn, leave their own children behind to be cared for by other women in the country of origin (Parreñas 2000, 2001; Yeates, 2004, 2005). The first is in relation to the changing demographics, combined with a lack of proportionate expansion in public services, which generate what Ehrenreich and Hochschild identify as a 'care deficit' (2003, on the US). It has become clear that the care deficit in the Global North is raising the demand for domestic labour (Salazar Parreñas, 2000). She illustrates the unequal dimensions of the global care chains when migrant women meet the care deficit of the more educated and professional women in developed nations and in turn, leave their own children in their country of origin to be cared for by others. In the second process, on the other hand, there is a concern for the globalisation of the household. Hochschild (2000, 131) shows that there is a feminised transfer of care giving labour in the household, and describe it as typically entailing:

An older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country.

With respect to the globalisation of care, two main approaches shape its composition. The first is the dominant focus on the transnational transfer of motherly care, or 'transnational motherhood', which refers to a migrant mother who works in a foreign country and her children are raised by 'other mothers' in the country of origin (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997²). A key issue in relation to transnational mothering, especially in the cases of South-East Asian domestic workers, is the

² For more reference see: Alicea, 1997 on the US; Boehm, 2001 on Mexico; Escrivá, 2001, 2003 on Peruvians in Spain; Hirsch, 1999 on Mexicans in the US; Mahler, 1999 on the US; Meñaca on Ecuadorians; Parreñas 2001, 2003, 2005 on Filipinos in the US; Pedone, 2003 on Ecuadorians in Spain; Rajman and Schammah-Gesser, 2003 on Latin Americans in Israel; Salih, 2001 on Moroccans in Italy; Schmalzbauer, 2004 on Hondurans in the US; Sørensen, 2005 on Colombians and Dominicans in Europe; Zontini, 2002, 2004 on Filipinos and Moroccans in Spain

prolonged time mother and children spend apart and the emotional strain resulting from transnational mothering (see Parreñas, 2001; Pratt, 2009). The following quotation is one of a numerous emotive narratives on child separation from the stance of Filipina migrant mother:

“When the girl that I take care of calls her mother "Mama," my heart jumps all the time because my children also call me 'Mama.'... I begin thinking that at this hour I should be taking care of my very own children and not someone else's, someone who is not related to me in any way, shape, or form... The work that I do here is done for my family, but the problem is they are not close to me but are far away in the Philippines. Sometimes, you feel the separation and you start to cry. Some days, I just start crying while I am sweeping the floor because I am thinking about my children in the Philippines. Sometimes, when I receive a letter from my children telling me that they are sick, I look up out the window and ask the Lord to look after them and make sure they get better even without me around to care after them. (Starts crying.) If I had wings, I would fly home to my children. Just for a moment, to see my children and take care of their needs, help them, then fly back over here to continue my work.” (Parreñas, 2001, 7)

The second approach constitutes a ‘care crisis’ in the country of origin as migrant womens’ absence burdens poorer women with daily reproductive labour and has negative emotional and psychological effects on their children that stay behind (Salazar Parreñas, 2003, Schmalzbauer, 2004). Furthermore, Hochschild (2003) problematises the care crisis in developing nations even further. In the case of Filipina domestic worker who are employed abroad for long periods of time, for example, the author interprets mother’s out-migration rather as a ‘care drain’ in the country of origin, which is the importation, or extraction, of care and love from poorer countries to rich ones. She notes,

The only thing you can do is to give all your love to the child [in your care]. In my absence from my children, the most I could do with my situation was to give all my love to that child (ibid, 214)

The GCC is a useful approach when considering only caring or reproduction across borders. However, in terms of this study, it presents some shortcomings. First, men are absent in studies on the global care chains in both the receiving and sending countries. This is partly because men from developing nations who migrate to carry out feminised jobs are only recently being included in research in the European context (Catarino and Oso, 2000; Datta *et al*, 2009; Herrera, 2005; Kilkey, 2010; Pedone, 2007; Sarti, 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010; Wills *et al*, 2010). In addition, research has shown that when men do stay behind, non-migrant women are largely responsible for care labour mainly as a result of men’s failure to substitute or undertake reproductive responsibilities (Parreñas, 2001, 2005; but see Gamburd, 2003 on Sri Lanka). In

addition to excluding men's position, the GCC also fails to explore migrant women's labour market experiences beyond their roles as carers. This study, however, jointly explores migrant men and women's reproductive and productive roles beyond care giving jobs in private households.

Moving beyond the global care chain approach and in broader research on transnational migration, there has been increasing work considering migrant workers' economic linkages. Economic remittances have attracted most attention, especially in recent debates on 'co-development' because of the possibility for development in the societies of origin (see Carling, 2005; Escrivá and Ribas, 2004; Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen, 2004). This is very relevant for labour migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, since the region received the second largest amount of migrant remittances in 2007 (\$66.5 billion), after Asia (\$69 billion) (IDB, 2009). However, others argue that low-paid migrant workers send remittances in a context of economic hardship and exploitative labour market conditions for family survival in sending contexts (Datta *et al*, 2007). Remittances are used for the everyday expenses of their family, and to a lesser extent, for development assistance of their home communities (McIlwaine, 2005).

In terms of the gendered effects of remittances in the transnational family, there are different experiences in the host society and in the country of origin. The general indication is that migrant men and women have different forms and levels of commitment to the country of origin. For instance, evidence shows that women's remittances represent a larger share of their salaries than men's, are more consistent, and tend to prioritise using the money on their children's education, health, and food, while men principally invest money in the construction of a house or in a small business (Ramirez, 2005). The effects of receiving remittances in the country of origin on gender equality are not promising. Camacho (2009) indicates that in Ecuador, for example, more 'other mothers' receive remittances but there are few possibilities for change as they do not gain control or decide how to use the money. Rather, they are burdened with more reproductive responsibilities (Camacho, 2009; Pessar, 2005; Salazar Parreñas, 2003; Schmalzbauer, 2004).

More recently, there is a small, yet growing stream of research on masculinities and the transnational family. From the country of destination, the work of Gallo (2006) found that Malayi men that work as domestic workers in Italy forge strong transnational parental ties. Similar to the experiences of migrant female domestic workers, a transnational father in Italy painfully explained:

Here you cannot take your child with you ... you have to dedicate yourself completely to work ... The Italian family does not like to have a small boy crying in the house ... so we took the decision ... it is painful, isn't it ... to be a father in this way?" (Migrant transnational father, Gallo, 2006, 364)

In a comparable way, Pribilsky working on Ecuadorian fathers and husbands living in the US, argues against the 'assumption that family abandonment, separation and divorce are inevitable results of any migration situation' (ibid, 2004, 315). He disagrees that all men conform to identical forms of hegemonic masculinity in terms of family abandonment and calls 'for a more nuanced understanding of men as migrants' (Pribilsky, 2004, 315; also see Datta *et al*, 2009; Dreby, 2006; Escrivá, 2005). To disrupt notions that men are purely absent family figures and to avoid compartmentalising migrant men's and women's productive and reproductive work in the migratory process, this study will examine men's 'private' roles as fathers and husbands through both social and economic activities in the transnational family.

Work-life Balance among Transnational Migrant Workers

In the US context, research tends to assume that migrant men and women will always, or at least for prolonged periods of time, be transnational families. In the European context, however, evidence shows that the Latin American migration is marked by high levels of family reunification, and to a lesser degree, the formation of prolonged transnational families (Herrera, 2001; Salimbeni, 2004; see also Bodoque and Soronellas, 2003; Kim, 2009; Piper, 2005; Plambeck, 2008; Robinson, 1996 on other contexts). The indication from broader research on gender and migration shows that with family reunification migrant women's position in the household in the host society is not promising. This is partly because husbands are not necessarily more involved in reproductive responsibilities. Also, and although migrant women are economically active, they are often displaced from their extended families and burdened with their own domestic chores and childcare (Datta *et al*, 2006; Tobío and Díaz Gorfinkiel, 2007; Wall and Jose, 2002). Unable to access public childcare they are most likely to rely on low-cost care delegation to other women transforming migrant workers simultaneously into both a local 'maid' and 'madam' (Lan, 2003, 188 on Filipinas in Taiwan). While research on gender and migration uncovers migrant women's strong commitment to the household through productive and reproductive responsibilities, this study sets out to explore the neglected area of migrant workers work-life balance after achieving family reunification.

Concluding Remarks

Research in the fields of gender and migration and the emerging work on men and international migration stress that gender is relational and a key constitutive element of transnational migration. The transnational approach can therefore benefit from incorporating the more recent conceptualisations on gender analysis. To better understand Ecuadorian men and women's transnational experiences across both paid and unpaid work in Spain, the following conceptual suggestions will be addressed throughout this thesis:

A gender and transnational migration approach is useful in that it responds to the awareness of increased female participation in migratory flows from the Global South to developed nations, and growing empirical evidence of migrant men's incorporation into 'female' sectors of the labour market in the European context. Reflecting the particular configuration of Spain's domestic and cleaning sectors of the labour market where migrant women and men worked side by side, this analysis benefits from including both feminine (e.g. cleaning and care-giving) and masculine tasks (gardening, cleaning, butler, drivers, cleaners, etc) carried out across private and public spaces.

Second, and considering migrant worker's position in the low-paid sector of the labour market in the Global North, it is significant to acknowledge a variety of forms in the construction of transnational families. On the one hand, studies centre on the private role played by migrant women in the maintenance of family links through transnational motherhood but more analysis needs to include migrant men's role in the transnational family. On the other hand, research highlights that the gendered nature of the construction of families in the destination country can have adverse effects on migrant women, especially in terms of settlement in the host society. A critical aspect of this analysis is the deconstruction of migrant men and women's reproductive roles in order to explore how the formation and reconstruction of a family life creates different challenges for migrant male and female workers.

Third, this chapter suggests the need to differentiate between 'private' and 'public' transnational activities. Previous research has pointed out that women prioritise activities oriented towards their new place of settlement, with the exception of transnational motherhood, while men are more involved in formal transnational links to protect their social status and privileges in the country of origin. Migrant female and

male worker's social and economic transnational ties with the country of origin will also be explored.

The Gendered Nature of Transnational Migration from Ecuador to Spain

Ecuador has historically gone through various socio-economic and political crises. After a period of deterioration in the 1990s, the most recent crisis has resulted in increased international migration. Ecuador quickly turned into the Latin American country with the highest rate of international migration. Ecuadorian migration abroad was traditionally directed towards neighbouring countries and the US, but the recent crisis expanded the destinations to Europe. Nowadays Spain is the country with the largest Ecuadorian population. The new flow of emigration to Spain has been increasingly studied over the past decade, mainly in terms of women. This reflects the growing feminisation of the international migration to Spain (52 percent men and 48 percent women in Spain, in comparison to 65 percent men and 35 percent women in the US) (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008). The main aims of this chapter are to provide background information on the Ecuadorian population that moved abroad, and set the context for the analysis of the Ecuadorian migrants in Spain, particularly in terms of the labour market, and their gendered transnational activities oriented to the country of origin. This chapter starts with an account of the recent socio-economic and political conditions in Ecuador. It then explores the context of Spain in terms of migration and the labour market. Finally, the chapter outlines the relationship between the gendered nature of migration, since understanding gender roles, relations, and identities in the country of origin is key for analysing changes in transnational spaces (Mahler, 1999).

Ecuador's Socio-Economic and Political Context: the Context for Emigration

In order to understand Ecuador's recent migration to Spain, it is necessary to first review Ecuador's contemporary political and socio-economic history. In the late 1990s the majority of Latin American countries suffered a severe socio-economic recession, mainly as a result of the implementation of a neoliberal agenda. In the case of Ecuador, and similar to other Latin American countries, its economic and social problems intensified and the country went into political turmoil. Historical precedents of political instability include a period between 1925 and 1948 where Ecuador had twenty-one different governments; from 1960 to 1979 there were eight different presidents; and most recently, from 1996 to 2006, seven presidents failed to serve out their term in office. This lack of stable political rule is mostly due to a division of power between regional and class-based interests, and also to neglecting the needs of a highly

fragmented society divided by region as well as gender, class, race, and ethnic grounds (Dent, 2007).

In the context of crisis, Ecuador was unsuccessful in consolidating a cohesive democratic system. Abdalá Bucaram, who had been seeking the post for many years, won the presidency in 1996. President Bucaram, nicknamed 'the madman' (*el loco*), epitomised the tradition of populist politics, yet adopted neo-liberal measures to reduce the role of the state, which in consequence led to increases in the prices of gas, petrol, and electricity. As the cost of living dramatically increased, it provoked the poor, Bucaram's electoral base, to protest against his government after only six months in office. A broad alliance of elites, politicians, middle-class, and popular sectors took the streets to demand his resignation. The short-lived presidency of Jamil Mahuad, elected in 1998, was not much different. His office inherited the country's poor economic performance; in addition, the price of oil, the major export commodity, reached a low point. The shock of the weather system El Niño created significant losses to agricultural production, and Ecuador was in a border conflict with Peru. As a result, inflation accelerated during 1998 and reached 60 percent by the end of 1999 (Central Bank of Ecuador, 2011)³. The country was in the midst of a banking crisis and the national currency was about to collapse. To avoid hyperinflation, President Mahuad froze all accounts, and after defaulting to pay its Brady Bonds, proposed to dollarize the economy in 2000. Unable to solve Ecuador's economic problems, Mahuad resigned from the presidency and the Vice President Gustavo Noboa went ahead and replaced the *sucre*, the national currency, with the American dollar.

The crisis had damaging effects on the wider population, especially in urban areas (61 percent of the total population). According to data published by 'The Integrated System for Social Indicators in Ecuador (2006, 12)'⁴, with regard to the labour market, from 1995 to 1999 urban unemployment increased from 7 percent to 14 percent, and wages dropped by almost 20 percent. In general, women tend to have higher unemployment rates than men, however during the period of crisis with high unemployment rates, women were more affected than men. In 1999, for example, women living in urban areas registered a 20 percent unemployment rate, while for men it was estimated at 11 percent (ibid).

³ Central Bank of Ecuador database: "Annual Inflation". See also the website:

[http://www.bce.fin.ec/resumen_ticker.php?ticker_value=inflacion] (February 1, 2011)

⁴ 'The Integrated System for Social Indicators in Ecuador' - *Sistema integrado de indicadores sociales del Ecuador* (SIISE for its acronym in Spanish) (2002) "Unemployment in Ecuador". See also the website: [<http://www.siise.gov.ec/Publicaciones/INDICE8.pdf>] (February 1, 2011)

The crisis also had different effects on various social classes. It has been found that the middle-class often bears the major cost of an economic crisis (Grynspan, 2005). The overall decline in government social-sector funding for education, health, and transportation led them to increase their own private spending on public services. The middle class was dually burdened with the deteriorating living conditions from the crisis, and with higher costs to access public services. Ecuador is a socially unequal country, but the crisis period produced widening gaps in income distribution, making Ecuador 'the most country inequitable in Latin America and the world' (SIISE, 2002, 29; also see Acosta, 2005).

Socio-economic inequalities became evident in terms of levels of poverty. During the crisis, there were increasing numbers of poor and extremely poor households and the United Nations ranked Ecuador as the poorest country in the hemisphere. In the year 1999, 43 percent of the total population lived in poverty and 23 percent in extreme poverty (SIISE, 2006b). With regard to region, rural populations living in the Amazon and coastal areas were more severely affected by poverty than the highlands (80 percent, 67 percent, and 54 percent respectively) (SIISE, 2003). Although Ecuador is no longer in a severe crisis, its position in terms of poverty levels and income distribution has not fully recovered. In 2008, about 35 percent of the Ecuadorian population still lived under the poverty line, and 15 percent in extreme poverty (Viteri, 2009).

Poverty levels are fragmented along the lines of gender. While poverty affects both men and women, over the past decade there has been an increase in the number of female heads of household in Ecuador. According to SIISE (2003), during the crisis, female heads of households were less affected by poverty. 58 percent of the female headed households, in comparison to 63 percent of male headed households, lived in poverty. Poverty among female heads of households varies according to race, ethnicity, area of origin, and social class. Rural and indigenous female heads of household registered higher levels of poverty, in contrast to urban and middle-class female heads of household with a better economic position and well-being (Chant and Craske, 2003; SIISE, 2003).

In the middle of the crisis, Lucio Gutierrez, a prominent protest figure against Mahuad's neoliberal policies, was elected in 2003 through a partnership with the indigenous

movement party (Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement⁵). After only months of government, Gutierrez broke his alliance with the indigenous movement and paradoxically continued the economic policies of his predecessor. Politically isolated, and unable to manage Ecuador's economic and social problems, Gutierrez faced charges for corruption. After a week-long protest in the main cities, Gutierrez abandoned the presidency and was offered asylum in Brazil.

The current socialist president Rafael Correa was first elected in 2006 on an anti-establishment platform. Initially he faced limited support in the congress, but was popular with indigenous groups and in the Latin American continent more widely, with sympathisers including Presidents Evo Morales (Bolivia), Hugo Chavez (Venezuela), Lula da Silva (Brazil), Michelle Bachelet (Chile) and the former president Nestor Kirchner (Argentina). Correa called a plebiscite and formed a Constituent Assembly with the objective to modify the constitution and include various marginalised sectors of the society. In 2009 he was re-elected and continues to strive for a more ethnically and socially equal country but Ecuador's democracy continues to be vulnerable. On September 30 2010 President Correa faced his first major crisis when a fraction of the national police, supported by a few air force troops, protested over a public services law that aimed to reduce some of their benefits. After being briefly held hostage by rebel police officers, his political position was strengthened as he received strong national and regional support.

Ecuadorian Migration: Patterns of Emigration and Immigration

According to Pellegrino (2000) the common characteristic of Latin American migration patterns is its structural nature. Until the 1950s, the region received migrants mainly from Europe. The flow of migrants in Latin America changed direction as a result of a combination of factors such as demographic changes, recurring economic crises, and political instability. The changes in the region, including Ecuador, can be distinguished by three main migration processes: rural to urban movement, intra-regional migration in Latin America, and international migration flows to developed nations.

Ecuador's first major experience with internal migration was related with state-led reforms. In 1964 the state launched a programme to reduce the income of small-scale

⁵ The Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement (*Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik*) was founded in 1996 as a way to advance the interests of a wide variety of indigenous people throughout Ecuador. See also the website: [<http://www.pachakutik.org.ec/>] (February 1 2011)

farmers, which in turn, systematically eroded peasant agrarian lifestyles (Peek, 1980). In consequence, there was a large rural-to-urban peasant movement in terms of the flow of people from impoverished farmers moving to the cities of Ecuador, mainly to Quito and Guayaquil (see Figure 3.1 for map of Ecuador). Urban growth rates from 1950 to 1980 were high and steadily rising at 4 percent per year (Lawson, 1999). In terms of gender, young women were often unable to make a living in rural areas and they were encouraged by their families to move to urban areas to take advantage of greater work opportunities. The majority of migrant rural women were employed with poor working conditions as domestic workers in the city of Quito (Radcliffe, 1999).

Figure 3.1: Map of Ecuador's Main Regions and Cities



Source: Downloaded map from website: <http://www.ecuador.us/images/ecuadormap.gif> (February 11 2011)

According to Herrera *et al* (n.d.), Ecuador has historically had three different experiences with international migration flows. First, during the 1960s and 1970s, as part of the United States immigration quotas, there was a flow of highly educated and professional migrants to that country. Despite scarcity of data on this period, it is possible to profile urban middle-class male migrants with high levels of education. At the same time, Ecuadorians were also migrating to Venezuela to meet labour demands caused by the oil boom.

Ecuador's second phase of international movement lasted roughly from the 1980s until the 1990s, a period of economic deterioration in the country. In contrast to the previous migratory phase, scholars documented this new phenomenon and highlighted a shift in the migrant profile (Kyle, 2000; Jokisch, 1997, 2002; Pribilsky, 2001). Rural men, mainly from the Southern Ecuadorian province of Azuay (capital is Loja), led the out migration to New York to make ends meet to maintain their agricultural livelihood. They entered through clandestine migration networks that led people through Central America and Mexico, and then into the US. Once in New York, most men worked in low-skilled jobs in construction, hotels, and restaurants. It is estimated that 400,000 Ecuadorians, the majority being from the rural southern provinces, migrated to the US over a 15–20 year period (Pribilsky, 2001). Although most migrants entered the US illegally, many were granted residency under the first amnesty programme in 1986⁶. With legal permanent resident status, Ecuadorian men often sponsored the movement of their female spouses, who mostly worked in factories and restaurants in New York.

Parallel to the southern rural movement to the US, the indigenous Otavalan merchants, from Ecuador's northern Sierra, initiated a new form of migration. Otavalan merchants, famous for the weaving of both traditional garments and tourist handicrafts, made commercial trips lasting from three to ten months a year to sell their products in Europe, North America, and South America (Kyle, 1999; Meisch, 2002).

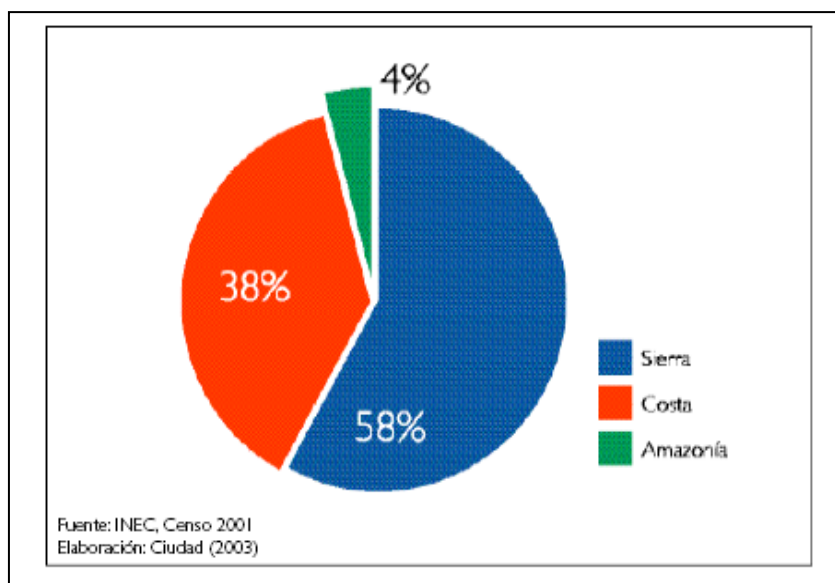
Since there is a longer history of Ecuadorian migration to the US than to Europe, only recent literature on the latter is available. Nevertheless, some studies highlight the long history of population movements between Latin America and Europe, especially following the political circumstances in Latin America during the 1970s (Pellegrino, 2004 on the Southern Cone). Despite this, it is clear that in the past two decades Western Europe has become a major destination for Latin Americans, including Ecuadorians. Since the mid-1990s, an estimated 1.5 million Ecuadorians moved abroad (7 percent of the population) (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008), and Spain holds the largest Ecuadorian community in Europe, with significant numbers also in Belgium, Germany, Holland, Italy, and the UK.

The profile of the migrant's socio-economic characteristics is diverse but some patterns are observed. The recent publication between UNFPA and FLACSO (2008) provided

⁶ The official name is the: Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986

data and background information on Ecuadorian migrant's profile by using a collection of datasets⁷. Most migrants originated from the highlands (58 percent), followed by the coast (38 percent), and to a lesser degree, from the Amazon region (4 percent) (see figures 3.2 and 3.3). Within these areas, a large proportion of migrants come from two of the main cities, Quito and Guayaquil. The data also suggests that there are differences in the male-female ratio between both cities (25 percent men and 27 percent women originating from Quito, and 20 percent men and 28 percent women from Guayaquil). A significant proportion of Ecuadorian migrants were urban, professionals and students, with secondary education, and in the economically active age group (20–39 years old). This means that migrants did not originate from the poorest sectors of society in Ecuador but were more likely to be members of the middle class due to deteriorating living standards from the economic crisis (SIISE, 2002) (also see Chapter 4 for a profile of sample group).

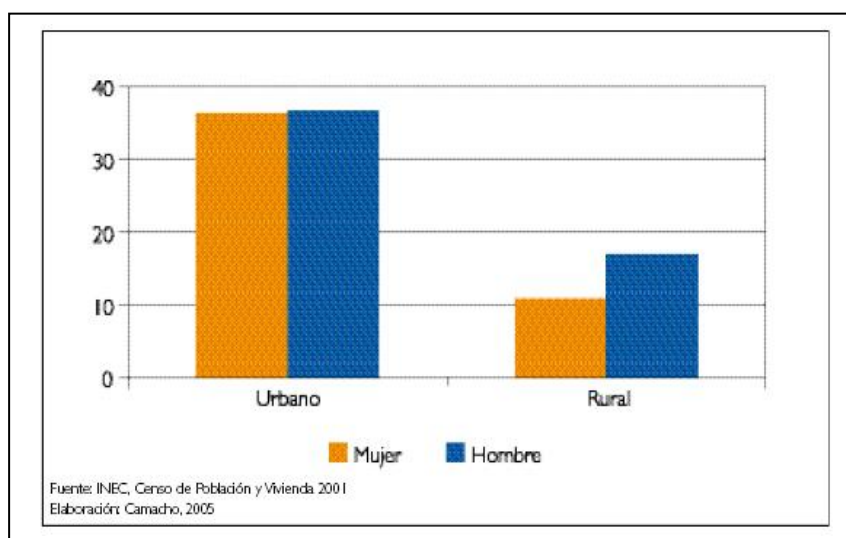
Figure 3.2: Three Main Geographical Areas of Origin of Ecuadorian Migrants



Source: This figure was created with data from the year 2001 and was downloaded from the SIMA, FLACSO website in January 2011 at: <http://www.flacsoandes.org>

⁷ The data provided in the study came from different datasets including Ecuador's 'Household and Population Census (VI Censo de Población y V de Vivienda, 2001)', the 'Survey on Living Conditions' (*Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida*, 2006; ECV for its acronym in Spanish), the 'Survey for Employment, Unemployment and Sub employment' (*Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo y Subempleo*, 2007; ENEMDU for its acronym in Spanish), data from Ecuador's 'National Direction of Migration' (*Dirección Nacional de Migración de la Policía Nacional*), among others.

Figure 3.3: Urban and Rural Origins of Male and Female Ecuadorian Migrants



Source: This figure was created by Camacho (2005) with data from the year 2001 and was downloaded from the SIMA, FLACSO website in January 2011 at: <http://www.flacsoandes.org>

Parallel to the international migration flows, Ecuador is also a country of immigration. The majority of migrants are economic and political refugees from the neighbouring countries of Peru and Colombia. According to online database from the 'System for Information on Andean Migration'⁸, an estimated 500,000 Peruvians and 500,000 Colombians settled in Ecuador between 2001 and 2005. Peruvians move for economic reasons, mainly for Ecuador's higher wages. Colombians refugees are also attracted to economic prospects in Ecuador but more important is the role of the armed conflict among the Colombian military, paramilitaries, and the rebel group FARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces) (Camacho, 2005). Finally, a moderate number of Chinese and Cubans have immigrated to Ecuador very recently, also for economic reasons.

Ecuadorian Transnational Migration and Public Policy

Migration had been traditionally a marginal topic on the Ecuador's political agenda, and Correa's government is commended for transforming it into a highly visible issue. At the beginning of his government, the 'National Secretary for Migration' (SENAMI for its

⁸ FLACSO, Ecuador created a website for the *Sistema de Información sobre migraciones Andinas* to recompile information and data on migration (SIMA for its acronym in Spanish). See online database at: [\[http://www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=762\]](http://www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=762) (February 3 2011)

acronym in Spanish)⁹ was created to tackle issues of emigration, and the Ministry of Foreign Relations managed issues of immigration and foreign policy (including political and economic refugees from Colombia and Peru, and the integration of recent migratory flows from China and Cuba). With the support of parallel initiatives such as the 'National Plan for Development'¹⁰ (2007-2010) and the 'National Plan for Action Against Human Trafficking' (2007)¹¹, SENAMI formulated the first 'National Plan for Migration and Human Development' (2007-2010)¹². The plan recommended a variety of public policies to support migrants and their family members left behind¹³ and increase the economic, political, and social involvement of transnational migrants.

In Ecuador, economic remittances have attracted policy-making attention, especially with regard to its impact on development. Remittances are crucial for the economy, and in spite slowing down for two consecutive years during the crisis in the Global North, they continue to be the second largest earner of foreign exchange. In 2009, the country received an estimated \$2.4 billion dollars in remittances (accounting for 7 percent of Gross Domestic Product, and 21 percent less than in 2007) (Central Bank of Ecuador, 2009)¹⁴. Within the Latin American and Caribbean region, Ecuador ranks fourth in the receipt of remittances, after Mexico (\$23 billion), Brazil (\$7.4 billion) and Colombia (\$4.6 billion) (IDB, 2007). The majority of these remittances are used for individual family's basic needs, and for investments in housing. SENAMI created a 'Housing Benefit'¹⁵ to encourage the purchase of a house, a piece of land or improve an existing home, and very recently a 'Migrant Bank'¹⁶ to provide institutional support

⁹ National Secretary for Migration' - *Secretaría Nacional de la Migración*. See also website: <http://www.senami.gov.ec/> (February 1 2011)

¹⁰ The National Secretary for Ecuador's Development and Planning produced the 'National Plan for Development' (2007-2010) - *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo*. See also the website: http://plan.senplades.gov.ec/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=2d6e9d53-c998-4b9c-9aed-ce4d191b9959&groupId=10136 (February 2 2011)

¹¹ A collaboration between the ILO and UNICEF with Ecuador's CONAMU (*Consejo Nacional de las Mujeres*) and the CNNA (*Consejo Nacional de la Niñez y Adolescencia*) created the 'National Plan for Action Against Human Trafficking' (2006) - *Plan Nacional de acción para combatir el tráfico ilícito de migrantes y trata de personas* (2006). See also the website: <http://violenciaytrata.savethechildren.es/docs/Docs/16/4.pdf> (February 2 2011)

¹² National Plan for Migration and Human Development - *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Humano de las Migraciones*. See also the website: http://www.senami.gov.ec/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&qid=108&Itemid=98 (February 2 2011)

¹³ Attention for the Transnational Family - *Atención a la familia transnacional* offers information and legal assistance for migrating abroad. See also the website: <http://www.senami.gob.ec/lainstitucion/senami-en-cifras/233-senami-en-cifras/749-atencion-a-la-familia-transnacional.html> (February 1 2011)

¹⁴ Central Bank of Ecuador (2009). See online database: <http://www.bce.fin.ec/frame.php?CNT=ARB0000985> (February 1 2011)

¹⁵ Housing Benefit (2006) - *Bono de la Vivienda*. See also website http://www.senami.gov.ec/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=630 (February 1 2011)

¹⁶ Migrant Bank (2010) - *Banca del Migrante*. See also the website: <http://www.bancadelmigrante.ec/> (February 1 2011)

to transform remittances into productive investment, mainly in small and medium enterprises.

Ecuadorians living abroad were granted the right to vote for president and for two representatives in the lower chamber of congress in the years 2005 and 2008, respectively. According to Ramírez Gallegos and Bocagni (2010, 10) during the first Presidential elections with Ecuadorians living abroad, a total of 143,352 were registered but only 87,000 migrants effectively voted. Reflecting the recent composition of the Ecuadorian migration flows, Ecuadorian registered voters were concentrated in Spain (90,476), Italy (24,807), US (16,538) and Venezuela (3,875). The low involvement of Ecuadorian migrants in transnational politics is most likely because of their recent establishment in Europe.

In response to the current financial crisis in the Global North, SENAMI set-up a voluntary return programme called 'Welcome Home'¹⁷. Between the years 2008 and 2009 the scheme assisted 5,000 Ecuadorians. Contrary to popular belief and expectations, there has not been a mass return of migrants to Ecuador. Even during periods of crisis in the Global North, Castles and Vezzoli (2009) show that not all migrants will return home, especially those with social protection in the country of destination, those who have resided for a considerable period of time and with family ties, and those with social networks which can support them in difficult economic times (see also Fix *et al*, 2009; Rogers 2009; Papademetriou *et al*, 2009). They also explain that migrants may return home on a temporary basis only to wait for an economic upturn and then move back to the host society. Among the migrants that decided to return to Ecuador through the 'Welcome Home' programme, the new trend in Ecuador is to reverse the effects of the brain drain and aid the transfer of knowledge, skills, and technology through a program called 'El Cucayo'¹⁸ (see also Goldring, 2004).

Ecuadorian Labour Migration to Spain

Since approximately the mid-1970s, southern Europe has gradually changed to become a region of immigration. In the case of Spain, migration flows turned positive

¹⁷ Welcome Home - *Bienvenidos a Casa* offers return migrants a duty-free exoneration on household goods and assistance with creating a small and medium-sized enterprises in the country. See the also website: [<http://www.senami.gob.ec/lainstitucion/senami-en-cifras/233-senami-en-cifras/748-bienvenidos-a-casa.html>] (February 3 2011)

¹⁸ Programa Fondo Concursable "El Cucayo". See also the website: [<http://www.senami.gob.ec/proyectos/incentivo-a-la-inversion/fondo-cucayo/732-convocatoria-2011-del-fondo-concursable-qel-cucayoq.html>] (February 3 2011)

around the mid-1980s, a situation that accelerated during the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century due to both 'push' and 'pull' factors. The number of foreign residents in Spain grew from 540,000 in 1996 (1.4 percent of the total population) to 5.7 million in 2010 (12 percent of the total population)¹⁹. Over the years, the composition of migration flows into Spain has changed significantly. At the beginning of the 1980s, most migrants in Spain came from other western European countries (France, Germany, Portugal, and the UK) and today a large majority comes from developing nations in Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe.

In recent years, Spain has become the main migration destination for Latin Americans in Europe (Padilla and Peixoto, 2007; Pellegrino, 2004). At the beginning of the 1990s, most Latin Americans came from Argentina, followed by Peru and the Dominican Republic. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, these flows have been dominated by migrants from Ecuador. Since the year 2000, the community has increased in size, making Ecuadorians the largest migrant group in Spain, after Rumanians and Moroccans. Being a new migrant community, the total number of Ecuadorians in Spain is hard to estimate, since a proportion of this population is probably undocumented. The latest data from the *Padron Municipal*²⁰ put the number of Ecuadorian residents in Spain at 500,000 (240,000 men and 260,000 women), but unofficial figures suggest the actual size of the community could be up to 1 million, since many Ecuadorian low-paid workers have not benefited from the latest *regularisation process*²¹.

Most Latin American migration to Spain has been feminised, mainly as a result of the demand for women in domestic work. However, the data available for 2001 suggests that the feminisation rate for Ecuador (51 percent) is not as high as that for other Latin American nations, such as Brazil (70 percent women), Dominican Republic (69 percent women), Honduras (65 percent women), El Salvador (64 percent women), and Paraguay (64 percent women) (Pellegrino, 2004). More recent data for 2007 suggests that the feminisation rate of Ecuadorians in Spain continues to descend (52 percent men and 48 percent women in Spain) (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008). This could be due to the fact that women played an important role as pioneers during the initial year of emigration, and that there has been an increase in the number of men migrating as a

¹⁹ See also the website:

[\[http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inmigraci%C3%B3n_en_Espa%C3%B1a#Evoluci.C3.B3n_de_la_migraci.C3.B3n_en_Espa.C3.B1a\]](http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inmigraci%C3%B3n_en_Espa%C3%B1a#Evoluci.C3.B3n_de_la_migraci.C3.B3n_en_Espa.C3.B1a) (February 3 2011)

²⁰ This is a list of people registered in each municipality should include both legal residents and irregular migrants.

²¹ For an overview of the policy of regularisation of irregular migrants in Spain see Levinson (2005).

result of labour demand in agriculture, construction, and services, but also due to family reunification²².

The Spanish government actively encouraged the arrival of migrant workers from developing countries to work in the low-paid service sector of the labour market through targeted policies. On the one hand, the growing immigration flows from Latin America is related to Spain's historical relations. In recognition of Spain and Ecuador's colonial ties, for example, the 1963 Hispano-Ecuadorian agreement allowed Ecuadorians to enter Spain without a visa (maximum stay of 90 days). On the other hand, low-paid migrant workers from developing countries were regularised through a separate quota system (i.e. for domestic service, gardening, construction, agriculture, etc). In addition, there were frequent amnesty programmes granting legal status to irregular migrants (in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2005). As a result, amnesty procedures have, until now, constituted the primary avenue for migrant domestic workers to obtain a legal status, although they have been critiqued for being on a temporary or renewable basis (Arango and Jachimowicz, 2005; Ortega Perez, 2003; Levinson, 2005; Lutz, 2008).

Other Spanish immigration policies have had an important impact on Ecuadorian migrants. During the conservative government of Jose María Aznar (1996-2004), the "Law on the rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Integration" (Ley Orgánica 4/2000) attempted to control the flow of irregular migrants and integrate those who could prove, among other requirements, that they had been in Spain since at least June 1999. A tragic accident killed 12 Ecuadorians on their way to work in agricultural fields in southern Spain which led to a general manifestation 'March for life' (*marcha por vida*) in which amnesty was demanded. Less than a month later, in 2001 Spain and Ecuador signed a bilateral agreement that provided legal work visas for nearly 25,000 unauthorised Ecuadorians²³ (also see Jokisch, 2007). In 2003, Aznar's government had a dramatic immigration policy shift. After a quick decision-making process, the Spanish government required Ecuadorians to obtain a visa which unexpectedly changed the future of many Ecuadorians. With a weeks notice, families that had been separated suddenly needed to make the critical decision to rejoin or remain separate from their family members living overseas. In a desperate act,

²² Family reunification, or the right for family members to migrate to join a family in Spain, is possible under the Spanish Law 8/2000: <http://www.mir.es/SGACAVT/derecho/lo/lo04-2000.html#CII>

²³ Bilateral agreement between Ecuador and Spain for the 'Regularisation of Migration Flows' – *Regulación y Ordenamiento de Flujos Migratorios con el Reino de España*. See also the website: [\[http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/6678.pdf\]](http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/6678.pdf) (February 1 2011)

Ecuadorians poured into Spain through all possible means until the very night that the new legislation became effective. The following year in 2004, after the Madrid terrorist bombing, the change of government to the socialist Jose Luis Zapatero proved more favourable for migrants. Zapatero's government passed a 'regularisation' law (Real Decreto 2393/2004) that granted legal status to more than 400,000 Ecuadorians, with specific quotas for low-paid workers employed in domestic service, construction and agriculture. In addition, after one year legal status, migrants had the possibility to obtain a permit allowing family reunification.

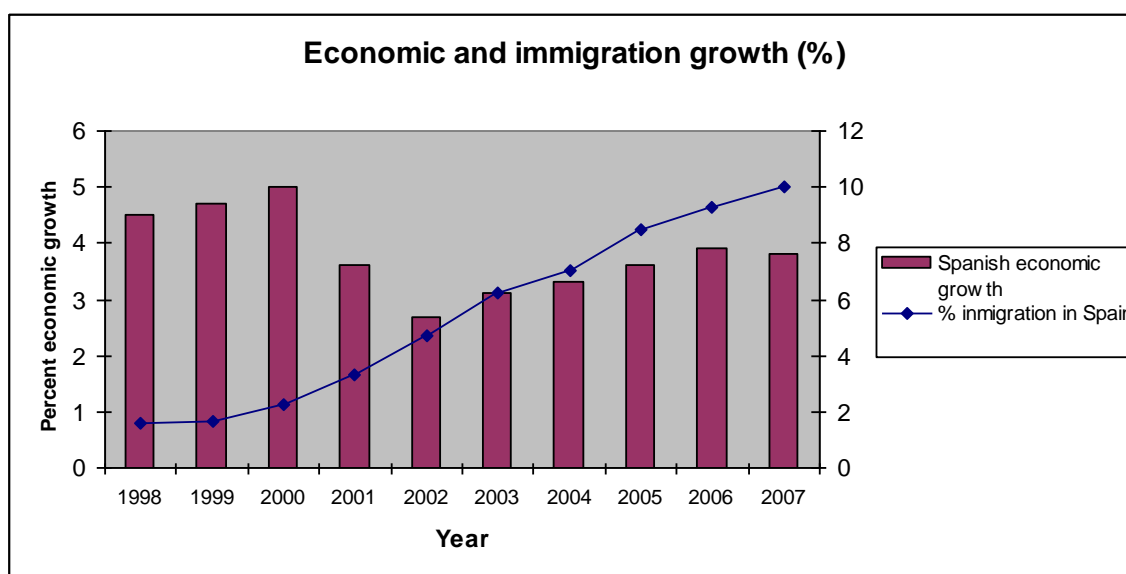
After over a decade of encouraging the arrival of migrant workers, the current financial crisis led Spain into a recession. In the European Union, Spain stands out for the severity of the crisis. One of the most pressing problems is growing unemployment. This has particularly affected the construction, manufacturing and services branches in which migrant workers are highly represented. Migrant workers in Spain register higher unemployment rates (28 percent vs. 17 percent for the native-born population) (Dumont and Garson, 2010). In response to the effects of the crisis on migrants, there have been initiatives to assist Ecuadorian's to return home. Spain instituted a voluntary return programme or a 'pay-to-go' scheme which is based on various incentives to encourage return. Papademetriou *et al* (2009) show that the turnover is modest with fewer than 1,750 Ecuadorian participating in the voluntary return programme (also see IOM, 2009b)²⁴. In addition to the state led policy, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) launched a programme 'Assisted Voluntary Return' to support Ecuadorians migrants, regardless of the legal situation in Spain, to voluntarily return home. The IOM offers a return ticket, a travel grant, and €450 to re-integrate back into their home country. Similar to the pay-to-go program, there is a low response rate (71 Ecuadoreans returned in 2009) (Papademetriou *et al*, 2009, 63). As discussed above, during periods of crisis, migrants do not necessarily return to the country of origin because they have more social protection, family ties, and social networks to support them during difficult economic times in the host society (see also Castles and Vezzoli, 2009; Fix *et al*, 2009; Rogers 2009; Papademetriou *et al*, 2009).

²⁴ Wall Street Journal (2009) "Spain's Jobs Crisis Leaves Immigrants Out of Work". See also the website: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123275552359911807.html> (February 3 2011)

Overview of Spain's Labour Market

Prior to the recent financial crisis, a feature of Spain's labour market was its steady economic prosperity since joining the European Union. Between 1998 and 2007 Spain's economy grew at an average rate of 4 percent, accompanied by low inflation and unemployment rates. The rate of economic growth came in hand with an increase in demand for low-paid migrant workers, as shown in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Economic Growth and Immigration Growth (1998–2007)



Source: Author's recompilation²⁵

Some authors argue that Spain's consistent economic growth had only been possible due to the arrival of migrant workers on a large scale, especially to work in the low-paid sectors of the labour market (Aparicio and Tornos, 2001). Migrant workers meet the increasing demand for low-skill labour, but not all sectors of the labour market expanded equally. The service sector, which grew the most over the past decade, employed 95 percent of the immigrants. Within this sector it is estimated that, in 2004, domestic work contributed 4 percent and contract cleaning 5 percent to Spain's GDP (INE online database²⁶). Although the service sector is an important sector of any economy, it is characterised by being invisible, low-paid, and providing only temporary employment for migrant workers.

²⁵ National Statistics Institute - *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE for its acronym in Spanish). See also the website: <http://www.ine.es> (January, 2008)

²⁶ National Statistics Institute - *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE for its acronym in Spanish). See also the website: <http://www.ine.es> (January, 2008)

Various Latin American groups are positioned differently within the service sector. On the one hand, citizens from countries that have ties with Spain through their emigration throughout the 20th century have a better standing in the labour market. Nationals from Argentina and Uruguay, for example, usually have a regular legal status, tend to work in higher-end jobs. On the other hand, migrant workers with colonial links to Spain (Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic) tend to be at the lower end (Colectivo loé, 2001). Actis (2005, 174) refers to this differentiation between migrants and non-migrants as the 'migrant segmentation of the labour market'.

Domestic Work's 'Semi-Legal' Standing in Spain

Domestic work in Spain has always been performed by migrant women. Rural Spanish women, for example, would migrate from rural to urban areas to work in domestic employment (Colectivo loé, 1990). The Colectivo loé (1991), a research-oriented Sociological institute based in Madrid, found that daughters of Spanish women previously employed as domestic workers now have higher levels of education than their mothers' generation and move onto higher status work (see Chapter 2). As a result, by the early 1990s it became clear that there were not enough Spanish women available to meet the rising demand for domestic labour and the country became increasingly reliant on workers from developing nations. Initially, Filipino and Portuguese women substituted for the lack of Spanish rural women as domestic workers; later, the void was filled by Polish, Moroccan, Dominican, Peruvian, and Colombian women and most recently, by Ecuadorian, Bolivian, and Paraguayan women (Escrivá, 2000). According to data from 2007 an estimated 38 percent Ecuadorian women and 2 percent men are employed in domestic service in Spain (FLACSO and UNFPA, 2008). In this female-dominated sector, deskilling is also common for Ecuadorian migrants, especially because only 5 percent women did this line of work in the country of origin (ibid). The Spanish state contributed to the widespread feminisation and demand for migrant workers domestic work by adopting a quasi-indifferent position of 'private solutions to private needs' (Escrivá and Skinner, 2008, 194). Domestic work, including female and male tasks preformed in the household (ie: caring, cleaning, gardening, chauffeuring, etc.), is only considered a semi-formal profession in terms of its working conditions, rights, and benefits (see Spanish domestic labour regime: 1424/1985 *Régimen Especial del Servicio del Hogar Familiar*). As outlined in table 3.5, it is characterised by the lack of a legal written contract, sick leave, and unemployment benefits. For recently arrived migrants,

however, domestic service can be considered an attractive line of work for both men and women because it offers the possibility to obtain a legal working and living status in Spain.

Table 3.5: Working Conditions for the Various Domestic Work Typologies

Working conditions	Live-in	Live-out	Hourly
Contract	Verbal or written	Verbal or written	Verbal or written
Max. work hours/day	9 hrs.	9 hrs.	9 hrs.
Rest between shifts	8 hrs.	10 hrs.	10 hrs.
Max. overtime/day	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Day-off/week	36 hrs.	36 hrs.	36 hrs.
Holiday/year	30 days (15 continuous)	30 days (15 continuous)	30 days (15 continuous)
Wage/month	45 percent in kind + 55 percent cash	100 percent cash	100 percent cash
Min. wage/month: <i>15 hrs of work</i> <i>40 hrs. of work</i>		€370 €683	€9/hr
Social security/month: <i>≤20 hrs. work/week</i> <i>≥ 20 hrs. work/week</i>		€160 employee €134 employer + €26 employee	
Retirement	≤ 70 percent of wage	≤ 70 percent of wage	≤ 70 percent of wage
Let-off	7 days notice (7 days of indemnification/year worked)	7 days notice (7 days of indemnification/year worked)	7 days notice (7 days of indemnification/y ear worked)

Source: Author's recompilation²⁷

Contract Cleaning's Legal Standing in Spain

Historically, cleaning jobs in public spaces such as buildings, offices, hospitals and on public transports have always attracted Spanish men and women due to its formal labour-market standing. In comparison to domestic work, cleaning jobs have better labour-market standing which is mostly related to the state's decisive action to recognise it as productive work. Contract cleaning is formalised through the general labour regime which has implications on the working conditions (*Régimen General*). It is perceived as an attractive line of work, as it offers social benefits including a written contract, paid sick leave, unemployment compensation, and social security benefits (see table 3.6). The feminisation and substitution of Spanish workers for migrant cleaners has not been as dramatic, especially in comparison to domestic work, but numerical estimations are not possible as there is a lack of an accurate baseline for migrant cleaners in Spain (Rubiera Morollón *et al*, 2003). The available data for the

²⁷ Based on data from Caritas Española (2007) and Cruz Roja (2010) . See also the website: [\[http://www.intermigra.info/extranjeria/archivos/impresos/SEmpHogar10.pdf\]](http://www.intermigra.info/extranjeria/archivos/impresos/SEmpHogar10.pdf) (February 10 2011)

sector shows that in the year 2010 there was an estimated 125,000 cleaners, without specification for nationality (INE online database)²⁸. A modest qualitative baseline was gathered from a small-scale study undertaken by the Colectivo Ioé in 2001 of twenty-two female and male Ecuadorian cleaners living in Cataluña, Madrid, and Andalucía. The study highlights the slow incorporation of Ecuadorian migrants into the cleaning sphere mostly due to the requirement of a regular legal status. More recently, Herrera (2005) points out that women are slowly moving out of the domestic service hierarchy (live-in, live-out, and hourly worker), and at some point in the employment trajectories it is increasingly common for Ecuadorian men and women to work in feminised cleaning jobs (also see Catarino and Oso, 2000; Pedone, 2007). An important feature of contract cleaning is the increasing presence of businesses that employ workers into cleaning jobs. Rather than working directly for a hotel chain, department store, or private office, cleaning in Spain is increasingly being characterised by sub-contraction. It is estimated that there were 12,402 subcontractors in 1998, which escalated to 21,000 in 2007, out of which 35 percent were located in the city of Madrid (INE online database²⁹). In Spain, and similar to other European countries, this form of employment is known as a way to cut costs for contract businesses. Migrant cleaners across Europe have expressed that they disrespect the labour process, and that migrants may find themselves worse off (Evans *et al* 2005; May *et al*, 2007; Pedone, 2007; Wills *et al.*, 2010).

Table 3.6: Contract Cleaning vs. Domestic Working Conditions³⁰

Working conditions	Cleaning work	Domestic work
Employer	Sub-contractor	Private employer
Legal status	Legal	Irregular + legal
Written contract	Compulsory	N/a
Max. work hours/day	9 hrs.	9 hrs.
Rest between shifts	12 hrs.	8–10 hrs.
Max. overtime/day	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Day-off/ week	36 hrs. (continuous or separate)	36 hrs. (continuous or separate)
Holiday/ year	30 days (15 continuous)	30 days (15 continuous)
Min. Wage	€641/month (min)	€341–683/month
Social security	Employer	Employer + worker
Sick leave/maternity	Compulsory	N/a
Unemployment benefits	Compulsory	N/a

²⁸ INE database. See also the website:

[<http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do?per=01&type=db&divi=IAS&idtab=9&L=0>] (February 10 2011)

²⁹ INE database. See also the website: [<http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/indice.htm>] (February 10 2011); see also INE's Bulletin: [<http://www.ine.es/revistas/cifraine/0306.pdf>] (2006)

³⁰ Based on data from Caritas Española (2007), Cruz Roja (2010) . See also the website: [<http://www.intermigra.info/extranjeria/archivos/impresos/SEmpHogar10.pdf>] (February 10 2011)

Retirement	Compulsory	Up to 70 percent of wage
Let-off	20 days notice	7 days notice

The Nature of Gender Equality in Ecuador

Mahler (1999) argues that gender equality in the country of origin is an important factor for analysing changes throughout the migratory process. Looking at Ecuador, and similar to other Latin American countries, there is a growing awareness of important improvements in gender equality and women's rights. The general trend is marked by increasing levels of participation by women at all levels, a general decline in fertility, changes in the household composition (increases of female heads of household), and the so-called 'crisis' of masculinity (Chant and Craske, 2003, 2). These are significant improvements in gender equality but they have been slow due to continuous political and economic crisis. According to the UNDP, the Gender Development Index (GDI) indicator for Ecuador shows that after the crisis years, it had a low GDI ranking of 97 in 2003 which is an indication of the country's poor human development. When comparing the GDI indicator to previous years, the crisis period had an extremely negative impact on the gender equality. Compared to men, women in Ecuador continue to be in a disadvantaged position. In the sphere of education, an in-depth study carried out by 'The Integrated System for Social Indicators in Ecuador'³¹ (2002) finds that women have systematically improved access to education, but continue to have lower levels of educational attainment than men. Women attend primary and secondary school in greater numbers than men, but more males receive higher education. With regard to the labour market, as a percentage of the total labour force, female labour force participation increased from 28 percent in 1990 to 48 percent in 2008 (Genderstats, World Bank)³². More women gaining access to the labour market has, on the one hand, had positive effects in terms of gender equality, but on the other hand, women's participation in the labour market remains disadvantaged. Women register higher unemployment rates and are concentrated in the informal economy, which is characterised by flexible jobs, low wages, and poor working conditions. Moreover, according to the law, men and women should receive equal pay for equal work, but in reality, women routinely receive lower wages than men for performing the same work (SIISE, 2002). In addition, female fertility rates have also decreased over the past decades. In 1980, the average woman had five children, as opposed to a decreased birth rate of 3 children per woman in the year 2000, and 2.6 children per

³¹ The Integrated System for Social Indicators in Ecuador - *Sistema integrado de indicadores sociales del Ecuador* (SIISE for its acronym in Spanish). See website: [<http://www.siise.gov.ec/>] (February 4 2011)

³² Gender Stats, World Bank (2011). Website: [<http://go.worldbank.org/0DWNXIQ30>] (February 4 2011)

woman in 2008 (Genderstats, World Bank)³³. Overall achievements have been made in terms of reproductive health by increasing women's use of contraceptive from 66 percent in the year 2000 to 73 percent in 2004 (Genderstats, World Bank)³⁴. However, challenges remain with issues surrounding adolescent pregnancy, improving rural indigenous women access to modern methods of contraceptive, and reducing the incidence of HIV/AIDS (Leon, 2007).

Women's advances in Latin America have not been matched with public social spending. After the crisis years, Ecuador's public social spending emphasised on anti-poverty, health, and education programs. Herrera (2008, 7) states that these schemes, 'as they are planned and implemented, do not contribute substantially to reducing the gap between men and women'. She exemplifies with the Free Maternity and Newborn Care program³⁵, one of the most important schemes for meeting the health care rights of women, that does not have sufficient resources to provide the services. At a national level, and similar to other countries in the region, there is the need for the welfare systems, premised on the model of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker caring for children, to respond to reducing gender inequality with sustainable public spending on a variety of issues, including both productive and reproductive work (Aguirre, 2005; ECLAC, 2009).

The Nature of Gender Roles, Relations and Identities in Ecuador

Broadly speaking, Chant and Craske (2003, 16) acknowledge that in Latin America the association of men with productive work and women with reproductive tasks 'have some grounding in practice' (also see Lind, 2005). Nevertheless, they also highlight that variations in gender relations and identities need to be considered along the lines of social class, race, area of origin, ethnicity, age, etc. In Ecuador, Radcliffe (1999) suggests that changes in gender roles, relations, and identities are closely related to class. The increased participation of women in employment is observed among middle-class women that have the support of domestic help, mainly peasant women, and not because of a reorganisation of gender roles within the household. In contrast, working-class women have few options for childcare and caring for the elderly, and rely on the support of extended female family members. These findings are not surprising,

³³ Gender Stats, World Bank (2011). Website: [<http://go.worldbank.org/0DWNXIQ30>] (February 4 2011)

³⁴ Gender Stats, World Bank (2011). Website: [<http://go.worldbank.org/0DWNXIQ30>] (February 4 2011)

³⁵ Free Maternity and Newborn Care program (*Ley de Maternidad gratuita y atención a la infancia*). See website: [<http://www.maternidadgratuita.gov.ec/>] (February 10 2009); see also recent Paternity Law (*Ley de Licencia por Paternidad*) at *Diario Hoy*: [<http://www.hoy.com.ec/noticias-ecuador/licencia-por-paternidad-fue-publicada-en-el-registro-oficial-333356.html>] (February 10 2009)

given the strength of traditional gender divisions of labour which assume that women are natural carers.

In terms of the position of men and the construction of masculinities in Ecuador, there has been little work (but see Reyes's (n.d.); Andrade (2003); Andrade and Herrera, 2001; Fuller, 2003 on Peru; Guttman, 1996 and Zamudio, 2008 on Mexico; Menívar Ochoa, 2010; Ortega Hegg, 2004; Vargas-Lundius, 2007). The general consensus is that there are significant differences between men, as there are between women. The experiences of men are shaped by various forms of inequality, including social class, income, age, area of origin, ethnicity, and racial diversity (Guttman, 2002; Lawson, 1995, 1999; Radcliffe, 1999; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). Andrade and Herrera (2001) suggest that in Ecuador men's identities are marked by differences in income as well as by area of origin, Quito or Guayaquil, and race, mainly *mestizo* or Indian. During periods of economic crises, Olavarría and Parrini (2000) argue that altering traditional gender relations have been limited as men see their role as the main breadwinner eroded. This may lead to tensions in gender relations and to domestic violence (Alemany, 2010; Araujo *et al*, 2000). More recently, Olavarría (2008) suggests that with women's improvement in terms of gender equality, there are slow changes in men's behaviour, and there is the possibility to build of new models of masculinity. Authors across Latin America point towards men's 'private' role, mainly fatherhood, as a strategy to change gender roles and relations (Aguayo, 2010 on Chile; Menívar Ochoa, 2010 on Costa Rica; Olivarría, 2008 on Chile; Ortega Hegg, 2004 on Central America; Vargas-Lundius, 2007).

Changing Gender Relations and Identities among Ecuadorian Transnational Migrants

Traditionally, male-led migration was seen as natural for men and women in Latin America. Men were motivated in part by a desire to fulfil their role as family breadwinners while women stay behind to perform their child caring responsibilities (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). The recent participation of Ecuadorian women in international migration to Spain certainly affects gender roles and ideologies. As Meñaca (2005) observes, women are attributed a caring role by Ecuadorian society and so are seen as more to blame for the rupture of their family if they leave than are men. The repercussions for female migrant workers increase if they leave behind children as they face 'social disapproval and single women gossip and suspicion of their behaviour' (O'Driscoll, 2009, 72).

With regard to migration and labour market entry, the general consensus is that there is little potential for empowerment. Camacho (2010) argues that the type of domestic work that women take up in Spain determines the extent to which they are empowered by their experience abroad. They are concentrated in highly feminised work which is characterised by its exploitative labour practices. Paid domestic work restricts women into roles that are an extension of their domestic roles in the country of origin. Over time, however, improvement in the labour market may prove more beneficial for female migrants (see also Herrera, 2005). For men, paid work outside the home is central for the construction of the masculine identity, and their employment situation can have different effects in the host society. In comparison to migrant women, findings suggest that Ecuadorian men are not much better off as they can be marginalised for working in a low-paid job, losing their breadwinner status, and for being a migrant of a minority ethnic group in the receiving country. All of which associate men with 'hypermasculinities', illustrated through gender violence or the failure of men to take on reproductive responsibilities (Wagner, 2004, 2007; see also Boehm, 2004 on Mexico)

A main economic feature of the Ecuadorian transnational migration is the large amount of remittances migrant men and women send to Ecuador. Most migrant workers send remittances in a context of economic hardship, and in comparison to the Ecuadorian communities in other countries, people in Spain send the second highest amount of remittances on a monthly basis (Italy US \$309/month, followed by Spain US \$279, and then the US \$242) (Camacho, 2005; Datta *et al*, 2007). Estimates from Ecuador show that, on average, men send more remittances than women. 44 percent of remittances come from men, in comparison to 37 percent women who send remittances on a monthly basis for investment in the basic household needs such as food, housing, medicine, health, and the education of their nuclear family (UNFPA and FLACSO, 2008). The effects of receiving remittances on changing gender relations in the country of origin are not clear. Herrera (2002, 2008) argues that the outcome depends on whether the household receives remittances from a migrant man or woman. Findings show that with male out-migration, there are few possibilities for changes in gender roles and relations as women do not gain control or decide how to use the money sent from abroad. Rather, women are expected to uphold the traditional the male breadwinner model, burdened with more reproductive and productive responsibilities, and face greater control in the wider community. Also problematic is when a migrant fails to remit or does not remit enough to meet household needs (also see Pribilsky, 2007).

The recent Ecuadorian labour migration to Spain is marked by high levels of family reunification, and to a lesser degree, the formation of prolonged transnational families (Herrera, 2001; Salimbeni, 2004). On the one hand, Ecuadorian women in Spain are faster to reunify with their children than men, which is related to the traditional association of women with motherhood. Rather than suggesting that child reunification may imply greater gender advances for women, childcare in Spain has specific challenges for migrant workers. Migrant working mothers find it challenging to reconcile their labour and family life, and in some cases employ domestic service to care for their own children (Tobío and Díaz Gorfinkiel, 2007; Wall and Jose, 2002). Although seldom taken into account, migrant children and adolescents themselves face difficulties with the social integration in the host society. The range of issues includes schooling, legal matters, mental health, discrimination, and family tensions (Gratton, 2007; Moscoso, 2008). In the country of origin, one of the main social costs of the recent migratory flow is the formation of new family arrangements. According to data from the year 2000 it was estimated that the number of children left behind grew from 17,000 in 1991 to 150,000 in 2000 (Herrera, 2008). Wagner (2008) points out that it is important to recognise that there are a variety of family arrangements situations of children left behind. In her study testimonies show that some young people remained with their mothers or fathers, others with grandparents or aunts, other with an older siblings, and, finally, there are cases of minors living alone. In terms of the latter, preliminary findings on transnational families in the country origin show that adolescent caregivers prematurely fulfil the role of a parent and develop early parenting skills and behaviours, which will most likely impede their own development in the long-run (Camacho and Hernández, 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed both the 'push' and 'pull' factors of Ecuador's recent international migration flow to Spain. The main 'push' factor has been the recent crisis characterised by political instability, deteriorating living conditions, and the lack of social protection for certain sectors of the population in Ecuador. The crisis had damaging effects on the wider population, but the costs implied in migrating to Spain meant that most migrants did not come from the poorest sectors of society in Ecuador but are more likely to be members of the middle classes. These are mainly men and women, professionals, housewives, and students, with secondary education, and in the economically active age group.

The Ecuadorian case also illustrates the global tendency toward the so-called feminisation of migration. In comparison to previous migration flows to the US, there is an evident increase in the flow of women in Ecuador's international migration to Spain. The feminisation rate of Ecuadorians in Spain suggests that it is not as high as that for other Latin American nations. This is due to the fact that there has been an increase in the number of men migrating, as a result of the demand for unskilled labour but also due to family reunification. Therefore the case of Ecuador cannot be understood only as an increase in the flow of women, but also as the movement of both men and women.

Ecuador's international migration also responds to the 'pull' of changing demographics and the demand for unskilled labour in Spain in the domestic and cleaning sectors. Literature is bleak about the potential for migration and low-skilled work as a means for gender equality. Women's incorporation into the labour market in itself can be significant in transgressing gender roles. However, paid domestic work in 'private' spaces reaffirms gender roles, mainly through women's position in the family. In addition, those that work in the various hierarchies in domestic work, and in cleaning jobs in the public sphere, are not much better-off.

Ecuadorian men and women's transnational relations also may rework and reinforce gender roles and relations in the family in both the host society and in the country of origin. Married men and women's quick reunification in Spain leaves little space for changes in gender divisions of labour, contrary to the pattern which is observed in the male-led Latin American migration to the US (see also Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992, 1994; Pribilsky 2004). Rather, married women and mothers that migrate to Spain are seen as transgressing gender ideologies. Most studies focus on transnational motherhood, particularly the way that Ecuadorian mothers' gender identity is affected by their inability to fulfil their traditional role as a woman, but this research will explore transnational parenting, as well as family reunification, and the experiences of the family members left behind. This way Ecuadorians experiences with transnational migration, a process of inequality, both between genders and between nations can be explored in greater depth.

CHAPTER 4

Mixed Methods and a Multi-Local Approach to the Study of Gender and Migration

This chapter offers a discussion of the primary research undertaken, focusing on the methods chosen, as well as the practicalities of the fieldwork. The first section considers the methodological issues when working with hard to reach migrant populations from a gender perspective. This includes an exploration of the methodological concerns behind the study of international and transnational migration, as well as feminist approaches to research on gender. Although feminist social research uses multiple methods, this research employs a mixed method quantitative and qualitative approach spread over two different geographical locations. With these discussions in mind, the second section justifies the chosen methods. It outlines the methodological framework, details of the fieldwork conducted, and explores the potential and limitations of drawing on mixed methods and a multi-local approach. Finally, the chapter ends with a section on the composition of the sample group studied.

Researching International and Transnational Migration

The methodological approach to the study of international migration involves different disciplines, which has advantages and disadvantages, since theories and concepts have to be combined (Agozino, 2000). Within migration studies, despite a huge amount of research on transnational communities, one of the critiques to the methodologies used to study transnational groups has been that empirical findings rely on small case studies, and focus on migrants that take part in transnational activities, rather than those who do not participate, which can exaggerate the extent of the phenomenon (Vertovec, 2004). Some empirical research overcomes this by conducting quantitative studies to measure the types of transnational practices of different migrant groups (Guarnizo *et al*, 2003). Guarnizo (2003, 688) also argues against the 'one-way' effects of transnational activities, and call for more attention to the country or origin (also see McHugh, 2000 on multi-local ethnography). Taking into consideration these criticisms, this research employs a mixed method quantitative and qualitative and a transnational approach spread over two different geographical locations (Spain and Ecuador).

A Gendered Analysis of the Study of Migration

Recent developments in feminist approaches to migration research have shifted, to some degree from a focus on women one on gender. At an early stage, feminist methodologies, in opposition to male biased positivist empiricism, placed women as the central focus of research where it was done 'on, by and for women' (Stanley and Wise, 1983 cited in Brunsekell, 2000, 39). Feminist methodologies combined feminist epistemology, which 'question notions of "truth" and validates "alternative" sources of knowledge', and emerged as a critique to positivist empiricism of a universal and objective knowledge (Madge *et al*, 1997, 87). Feminist methodologies, therefore, challenged traditional forms of knowledge by uncovering 'situated knowledges', which are produced within particular contexts and by particular interactions (Laurie, 1997, 50). Nevertheless, it was recognised that all women did not share a universal experience and some opposed the notion of sisterhood which implied the existence of common interests and goals. Therefore, it was highlighted that there are differences between women depending on ethnicity, race, age, sexuality, religion, etc (Cope, 2002; Madge *et al*, 1997; McDowell, 1992; Valentine, 1997). Others questioned whether it was appropriate for Western researchers to undertake research on women from the 'Third World' as it is noted that there is the risk of making it a colonial project (Blunt and Willis, 2000; Mohanty *et al.*, 1991; Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000; Mohanty *et al.*, 1991). Although some argued that the ideal would be to have collaboration between the North and the South, it was not always possible, yet it remains crucial to do situated research with different cultures and people (Pratt, 2004; Sharp, 2005).

A common theme between feminist research, and other strands of social research, is to question the impact of power relations on the creation of knowledge, and the multiple identities involved in the research process. This approach adopts three principles of positionality, reflexivity and power. First, positionality is based on the notion that identities are negotiated between the researcher and the researched during the research process. Early research suggested that the researcher can share similar identities with their participant. For example, women carrying out research with women are positioned as 'insiders', as opposed to being an 'outsider', as arguably they will have a closer connection along the lines of gender (Brunskell, 2000). However, others suggest that there is no such thing as inside/outside knowledge, as positionality is constantly being negotiated (Rose, 1997). Multiple positioning, which includes the diverse intersections of identities, is thus based on a relationship of both 'sameness and difference' which can just as well act as a bridge between the researcher and the

researched (Valentine, 2002, 116). By exchanging life stories researchers have been able to find common ground with participants for cooperation (Seale, 2000). Second, there is the need for reflexivity, which questions one's own actions and motivations in the research. Reflexivity is about 'giving as full and honest an account of the research process as possible, in particular explicating the position of the researcher in relation to the researched' (Reay, 1996 cited in Al-Hindi and Kawabata, 2002, 104). The authors identify three main advantages to a reflexive approach. First, it helps understand how identity is constituted during the research process, it makes clear the researchers position vis-à-vis the research, and finally, it helps share power with the participant more equitably. This, in turn, relates to third principle of the hierarchical power relationships implicit in the research process. Feminist authors have critiqued the positivist empiricist view that the researcher is positioned as the powerful expert and the respondent as the passive subject (Oakley, 1998). Rather, feminist methodologies strive for an egalitarian research process that is based on the notion of sharing power, rather than reinforcing hierarchies.

Research that examines the gendered nature of the migration process incorporates some of the above issues. At the outset, Donato *et al* (2006, 4) recognise that early feminist scholars succeeded in recognising women's participation in the feminisation of the international flows, and in bringing migrant women 'out of the shadows'. While acknowledging the contribution of feminist research, more recent studies in the field of gender and migration emphasise that gender is not just about women, but also about men and relations between and among them (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Mahler, 1999; Pessar 1999; Pessar and Mahler, 2001). Donato *et al* (2006), for example, argue in favour of methods that account for the diversity and complexity of the migratory phenomenon which is often mediated by gender as well as other factors, such as class, race, age, ethnicity, etc. Despite the elaboration of these debates, Kilkey (2010) points out that work on this area continues to ignore men. Such an argument can be relevant to this research on gender and migration, since it involves the study of men and women that are both in a marginalised position.

Furthermore, Mahler and Pessar (2006) argue that most research still does not consider gender as a key constitutive element of transnational migration (also see Donato *et al*, 2006). Feminist methodologies continue to focus on the diverse experiences of women, mainly from a qualitative approach, but it is possible for a single study to use both quantitative and qualitative methods and be carried out in multiple sites (see Mahler, 1999; Pessar and Mahler, 2001). Pessar and Mahler (2003, 812)

advocate that more empirical studies need to 'bring gender in' to examine the relations between women and men at a transnational level because 'identities and roles are reaffirmed, tempered or both within transnational social spaces' and how these are 'simultaneously constructed across national boundaries' (Pessar, 1999, 588; Pessar and Mahler, 2003, 815).

Qualitative and Quantitative Methods for Studying the Gendered Nature of Migration

Empirical studies on gender and migration use a variety of methods. Different authors argue on the advantages, and limitations, of quantitative studies with respect to qualitative work. On the one hand, early quantitative research on the study of gender and migration tended to look solely at the experiences of men and ignored women, as there was little sex-disaggregated data (see for example, Browning and Feindt, 1971). Or it added the variable 'sex' into quantitative frameworks in attempt to make women visible through research (see for example, Thadani and Todaro, 1979). To remedy reservations in using quantitative methods, Zlotnik (1995), for example, uses gender-disaggregated statistics to illustrate the feminisation of international migration flows (also see Sassen-Koob, 1984). Yeates (2005) however, reminds us that methods which quantify the global care chain approach are still pending.

The study of gender and migration also advocates using qualitative methods. Qualitative methods, such as interviews, focus groups, and participant observation, are crucial to feminist methodologies as they generate detailed understanding of personal experiences, which are ideal for researching gender relations and power relations (Brunskell, 2000). It is argued that interviews '... draw on women's (purported) ability to listen, to empathize, and to validate personal experiences as part of the research process' (McDowell, 1997, 107). Focus groups, defined as a small group of people discussing a topic or issues defined by a researcher, are also considered an alternative qualitative method (Bedford and Burgess, 2001). In comparison to interviews, the purpose of the focus group is to provide the researched with a collective and dynamic role in the research process. This is done by selecting a group with certain common characteristics to share perceptions and points of view, and to observe how group members influence each other. Focus groups implicitly reduce the influence of the researcher on the researched by allowing for a higher degree of freedom in group discussion, but it has been seen problematic because it does not necessarily represent a complete transfer of power (Bedford and Burgess, 2001). Participant observation,

another qualitative method, complements the information gathered through other methods in that the researcher observes the actors, or the group under study, in their natural setting (Fortier, 2000). Thus, the researcher accounts for the actions of the participants by making observations of their activities, behaviours, actions and conversations. As the researcher is simultaneously an onlooker and a participant, this method places reflexivity at the forefront. Research that relies on qualitative methods does not come without critiques. It is seen as problematic because of its association only with women and as 'soft data' where 'words do not necessarily reflect actions' (Seale, 2000, 204). It is argued that although qualitative methods are useful to explore issues in-depth, it has been noted that there may be gaps between representation and social reality. Some examples may include fibs, misunderstanding of question, polite answer, idealisation of community, conscious lack of knowledge, inarticulacy, forgetfulness, and so on.

In consequence, it is increasingly recognised that, in order to work with gender, both men and women, there is a need to overcome the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy, as they are not divorced from each other but are better understood as a continuum (Lawson, 1995). Although quantitative and qualitative methods have inherent limitations, authors argue in favour of mixed methods to balance out their shortcomings. The generalisations from quantitative methods can be combined with subjective qualitative methods to provide a holistic picture of the subjects under study (Pessar and Mahler, 2006). Using a mixed method approach is important in the current research to gain different, yet complimentary, information to compare findings through articulation when exploring the experiences of migrant men and women. Quantitative methods allow eliciting general information, which is followed-up with qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of the gendered nature of migration.

Methodological Framework of this Study

Responding to the debates in gender and migration research about the value of both mixed methods with a multi-local approach, this research conducted questionnaire and interviews in both Madrid and Ecuador. The purpose of the chosen methods was to get a holistic understanding of the Ecuadorian community in Madrid in terms of their integration in the host society, and the connections they maintain with the home country. The transnational element of this research is particularly important since there is a need for more studies that explore the experiences of migrants from the same country over different destinations to understand better the importance of context

(Guarnizo, 2003). The decision to focus on Ecuadorian migration to Europe, rather than the US, was taken because despite being the largest Latin American migrant population in Spain, it remains understudied in the countries of origin and destination.

Fieldwork in Madrid was divided into two separate phases between March and November 2007 and carried out both quantitative and qualitative methods. On the one hand, the quantitative methods involved a survey employing 100 questionnaires with Ecuadorian migrant domestic workers and contract cleaners in Madrid (56 women and 44 men). The survey contained a total of 68 questions which provided an important baseline of the various migrant experiences regarding their socio-economic background, migration and employment trajectories, working conditions, household structure, transnational connections with the surrounding community and home country, and future migration plans (see appendix 1 for survey).

The qualitative methods involved a total of 77 interviews, 2 focus groups, and participant observations over two different locations. In Madrid, 33 in-depth interviews were held with migrant workers to gather information on their experiences with changes in gender roles, relations, and identities in the migration process (decision-making, choosing a destination, networks), with domestic work and contract cleaning, and with regard to the construction of their family lives in both Madrid and Spain (see appendix 2 for interview guide). In addition, 2 focus groups were held in Madrid to gather migrant workers' perceptions, attitudes, relations, and opinions around a variety of themes. The first group was composed of 3 women who explored a variety of issues including discrimination, housing, employment, and their relationships with female colleagues and employers. The second focus group, attended by 3 women and 1 man, discussed migration networks, conjugality, discrimination, transnational politics, employment, and their relationships with colleagues. Finally, to gain close familiarity with migrant workers, participant observation was carried out with 5 organisations (Evangelical Pentecostal Church, Spanish Commission for Refugee Help, Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre, America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation, Religious of Mary Immaculate), and during migrant's leisure time (for more details see the below section on accessing participants).

In addition to interviews, focus groups, and participant observation, a total of 24 semi-structured interviews were held in Madrid with employers of migrant workers and key informants. On the one hand, a total of 9 interviews were held with 4 employers (1 man, and 3 women), and 5 representatives from recruitment agencies (1 woman from

the Evangelical Church, 2 women from the Catholic Church, 1 women from a migrant association, and 1 women from a subcontract cleaning company). These interviews, which were organised around their work schedules and held in offices, included the employer's perspectives on their own labour market participation and the demand for migrant workers, as well as notions of gender and ethnic preferences and stereotyping in 'female' employment. Additionally, 15 interviews were held with key informants working with the Ecuadorian community in Madrid. These included representatives of migrant organisations, trade unions, activists, academics, government officials, and the Church. The key informants were inquired about their own experiences and understanding of the Ecuadorian community in Madrid in terms of their integration in the host society and their transnational activities with the country of origin (see appendix 3 for the list of key informants).

In Madrid, the location for questionnaire surveying, interviewing, participant observation, and focus groups with migrant workers needed to be carefully selected. As discussed above, the location may lead to different outcomes, especially in women-to-men interviews, and needed to take into consideration that most migrants employed in cleaning jobs work long hours and in 'invisible' places (Elwood and Martin, 2000; Lee, 1997). Given their limited amount of spare time to do all their activities (send remittances, shop, meet friends, attend to their family, attend church, etc), I approached migrants while they made use of the religious services, migrant associations, and of public spaces outside of their work hours. I worked with migrants mostly in public spaces, where most socialising is done, or agreed to meet at or near their workplaces, church, migrant associations, or in a café. Most surveying and interviews were conducted in safe and comfortable spaces within the Church or in the migrant associations. Equally, the two focus groups were held in a courtyard and in a café. It is also known that migrant workers rent out apartments and share them with relatives or friends. Access to migrant workers private homes was gained through personal contacts where I conducted questionnaire surveys, interviews and participant observation.

The purpose of the two-month fieldwork held in Ecuador's cities of Quito, Ibarra, and Macas from July to August 2007 was to explore migrant workers transnational linkages with the country of origin, and the perception of those left behind. The qualitative methods included 11 in-depth interviews with transnational families in Ecuador (see appendix 4 for interview guide). Interviewing was done in two different regions of the country to explore differences among them. In the highlands I worked in the cities of

Quito and Ibarra. The interviews were held in private homes, workplaces, and restaurants. Moreover, after two days of travels I reached the Amazon destination of Macas. I touched base with my personal contacts who took me on a walking tour to meet the various families. In the city of Macas, interviews were also held in private homes, workplaces, and in restaurants. In all cases where interviews were held in a private home I ensured it was a comfortable place for the participant. In addition, I took care of my safety by being accompanied by a family member, or keeping them informed of the time and location of the interview.

A total of 8 semi-structured interviews were also held with key informants in the cities of Quito and Macas to explore their understandings of the recent migration flow to Spain. Interviews were held with a representatives of trade unions, academia, government officials, and the private sector (see appendix 5 for a list of key informants in Ecuador). These were held in their offices which proved to be the most convenient and comfortable location, and it also allowed me to gain access to other resources such as written material and details on local events. In Ecuador, after interviewing a representative of the trade union 'The Syndical Institute for Cooperation and Development'³⁶, for example, she invited me to attend the conference titled 'Labour migration and migrant workers family's rights'³⁷. The follow-up fieldwork in 2008 was to participate in an academic conference on the theme of migration, and disseminate findings from this research.

Access to participants in Madrid and Ecuador

Before I entered the field, initial contacts with organisations started in November 2006. Through these contacts, I formed an institutional link with the Colectivo Ioé, a sociological research institute in Madrid, who gave me access to their library and provided a space to work, share information, and exchange ideas. They also shared the contact details of the person who interviewed Ecuadorian domestic workers and cleaners for their study entitled *Migration, women and work* (2001), who was also the vice-president of a migrant association '*Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano Ecuatoriana*'³⁸.

³⁶ The Syndical Institute for Cooperation and Development - *Instituto Sindical de Cooperación y Desarrollo* (ISCOD-UGT for its acronym in Spanish) website: <http://www.iscod.org.ec/> (February 14 2011)

³⁷ The conference titled '*Las migraciones laborales y los derechos de las y los trabajadores migratorios y sus familias*' was held in Quito from July 17-19 2007

³⁸ *Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano Ecuatoriana* - Rumiñahui Hispanic Ecuadorian Association. See website: <http://www.ruminahui.org/> (February 10 2011)

At an initial stage in Spain, access to key informants was gained through participating in a variety of activities. From March 21-24, 2007 I attended the conference 'Migration and human development' in Valencia, Spain which hosted over 1,000 academics and covered a wide variety of themes. I also participated in a gathering for Latin American migrant associations to exchange their experiences in Spain (April 14-15, 2007, Madrid), and at a seminar on migrant political participation (April 16, 2007, Madrid). By participating in these events, I networked with leading Spanish academics and activists in my field of research.

Parallel to participating in the above events, I approached the Evangelical Pentecostal Church³⁹ in Madrid which played an essential role in accessing Ecuadorian migrant workers in Madrid. The Pentecostal church, which is gaining force in Ecuador and Spain, granted me access to Ecuadorian followers before and after services on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays. After meeting the main gatekeepers, the Pastor and his wife, I worked under the supervision of the Ecuadorian Evangelical male chaperone or 'insider' named Juan⁴⁰. Juan was a primary teacher in Ecuador and fortunately he was keen on helping me build rapport with participants by presenting me as a trustworthy person. By going through the Church's gatekeepers, I was welcomed to spend unlimited time in the Church, build rapport with participants, conduct interviews, and undergo participant observation. In return I supported various Church initiatives including bake sales and music/dance performances. In retrospect, showing interest in their lives had benefits in that various migrant workers invited me to participate in social events during their leisure time. I attended for example, a birthday party, sporting events in a public park, and on several occasions I was invited over to their homes for a meal.

I also diversified my sample by contacting other organisations. I cooperated with the 'Spanish Commission for Refugee Help'⁴¹ (CEAR for its acronym in Spanish) which is leading the campaign known as '*Madrid convive*' that aims to improve migrant integration in public spaces. On Sundays afternoons, after the Pentecostal congregation, I accompanied the team to the public parks of '*Casa Campo*' and '*Parque Oeste*' to carry out participant observation. In addition, the Religious of Mary

³⁹ The Evangelical Pentecostal Church - *Iglesia Pentecostal Unida de España* in Tetuán, Madrid

⁴⁰ This is a pseudonym – as are all names in this thesis.

⁴¹ Spanish Commission for Refugee Help - *Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado* (CEAR for its Spanish acronym) website: <http://www.cear.es/> (February 14 2011)

Immaculate⁴² invited me to attend their training sessions aimed at female domestic workers, and introduced me as a trustworthy researcher to carry out participant observations and meet participants. This led me to three Ecuadorian women who were keen to complete the questionnaire, discuss the issues of discrimination, housing, employment, family, and their relationships with female colleagues and employers in a focus group, and granted me access to a family in Ecuador. I was also in contact with 'Asuntos Precarios' a feminist activist group involved in improving the working conditions of domestic work. In the latter, I was invited to participate in informal discussions and in their internal meetings. In exchange, I contributed with the various organisations in different forms. As none have a formal volunteering programme, most asked me to help out in specific events. For example, I lent a hand with the organisation of the meeting, and provided feedback.

Also important, was sharing details on my research with key informants in Spain to gain access to other organisations. During an interview with the Consul at the Ecuadorian Embassy in Madrid, for example, he called the president of the migrant association called the 'Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre'⁴³. The 'Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre' supports migrant workers integration by offering information and services on the issues of housing, work, training, family, and youth. The 'Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre' granted me access to migrant workers before and after their computer training programmes, in addition to an office space to conduct questionnaire surveys and interviews. Also, after participating in the gathering for Latin American migrant associations, I was put in touch and interviewed a representative of the migrant association called 'America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation' (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish)⁴⁴. After migrant workers pay an annual fee of €60, AESCO offers them unlimited information and services on legal, labour market, and social issues. Through this contact I was able to attend the AESCO introductory meeting for migrants and approach those that came in on a daily basis to use their services. I was also offered their library as a place of work and given access to AESCO's database to contact participants.

Through all the above channels, I prioritised meeting migrants through trustworthy people and/or organisation. Thus, my sample bias excludes migrant workers that are not a member of a religious organisation or can not afford to pay the fee for migrant

⁴² Religious of Mary Immaculate - *Las Religiosas de María Inmaculada* website: <http://www.mariainmaculada-riosrosas.es/> (February 14 2011)

⁴³ Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre - *Centro Hispano-Ecuatoriano*.

⁴⁴ America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation - *América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación* (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish) website: <http://www.ong-aesco.org/> (February 14 2011)

associations. To counter balance this bias, after becoming a familiar person, I built rapport with the participants to survey and interview them, and was directed to their friends and family members that also work in the domestic and cleaning sectors of the labour market. I built my sample through the snowballing effect, which has proved to be a helpful technique (Zontini, 2004).

During migrant worker's leisure time, I undertook participant observation. On two separate occasions Quique and Daniel, Ecuadorian migrants and trustworthy 'insiders', offered to take me to the public parks of '*Casa Campo*' and '*Fuenlabrada*' to meet other Ecuadorians. Observation was done in these spaces when they organised local football and volleyball games, dances, fairs, and sell ethnic food, drinks, music, and other services (ranging from haircuts to live music). In addition, I accompanied Ecuadorian migrant workers to run their day-to-day errands to gain in-depth insight into their lives in Spain. On several occasions I accompanied them to visit friends and family in flats, and to the hospital to visit the ill and elderly, and I spent time on the weekends observing how they grounded transnational linkages with Ecuador by phoning and sending remittances at internet cafés (*locutorios*).

The snowballing technique from Spain was useful to gain quick access to 11 transnational family members in Ecuador, mainly the cities of Quito, Ibarra, and Macas. I prioritised building rapport with migrant workers in Madrid before requesting access to their counterparts in Ecuador. It is noted that transnational research can be very sensitive, and asking for access to a member of their family in Ecuador was done with utmost care and confidentiality was always assured (Hirsch, 1999). Interestingly, access to the Ecuadorian counterpart was closely tied to the family's experience with living across borders. On the one hand, transnational families that lived harmoniously between Ecuador and Spain granted me access to their Ecuadorian counterpart after making a joint decision. In most cases I accompanied the migrant worker to the nearest *locutorio* where the participant spoke over the phone with their Ecuadorian family members, and when they reached an agreement, I introduced myself over the phone. During these phone conversations, I shared my travel plans, the objectives of my research, and informed consent was assured by making it clear that in no case do they have to participate, nor will it affect in any way their lives in Ecuador nor their family member's life in Spain. On the other hand, transnational families that were experiencing difficulties denied me contact. In this sense, it was important to give transnational participants control over the research process, deciding what, and what not to tell, in addition to option of 'informed dissent' throughout the process.

On the whole, from the first contact with all participants in Madrid and Ecuador, I emphasised that I was interested in learning from them about their experiences with migration. The message of them being experts was explicit. Where my research methods may not necessarily reflect complete power transfer, partial control of the situation will be passed to the participant by giving them control over their participation (or not), what information they shared, how they shared it and in the case of in-depth interviews, over the tape recorder.

Analysing Quantitative and Qualitative Data

In terms of analysing results, both qualitative and quantitative methods required different forms of interpretation. As an ongoing process, interviews were digitally tape recorded and then transcribed. Although it is recommended transcribing as soon as possible after the interview is completed so that the material is fresh in the researcher's mind, I had time limitations which did not allow for this. I did manage to write down in the field diary the main themes that came up from each interview which allowed for ongoing analysis of ideas and for new questions or topics to be incorporated into the guide for later interviews.

At a second stage, the abundance of data provided by the interviews needed to be sorted, coded and managed. The analysis of data used a combination of etic and emic approaches. Etic knowledge, which is broadly understood as accounts that are validated by the community of social scientists, were mixed with an emic approach, which validates the accounts of those under study. By jointly using etic and emic knowledges, data was analysed by ordering them into smaller units through codes. These codes were predetermined and linked to the theories already developed in the literature along with concepts that prove important to the migrants themselves. But coding is more than just organising and making data more manageable, it is also about looking for complexities and contradictions, about reconceptualising ideas, and about raising new issues and questions. It is this process that will help in the final analysis of identifying relationships between the data and the social phenomena under consideration.

The analysis of quantitative methods was straight forward. The questionnaire survey contained closed questions throughout the research process. Each question and answer was coded as a nominal variable, where a number represents a question, or as

interval variables, which is a real number, and data will be processed using excel and STATA software. After recording the variables, I explored the data and performed cross tabulations and present the data in the form of tables and graphs.

Methodological Issues of Power and Representation in the Research Process

When working with migrant workers, it is recognised that gender, ethnicity, and legal status, and ethical considerations are important methodological issues. These are central to the construction of knowledge by the researcher and participant interaction in terms of power and positionality, but also raise challenges throughout the research process. Therefore, it is necessary to problematise and outline the specific challenges, limitations, and strategies demanded by research when working with these issues.

Working with Migrant Men and Women

As discussed above, the majority of feminist research is largely based on women but research on gender and migration is moving towards the involvement of men to 'broaden and deepen our understanding of power and inequality' (White, 1997, 21; see also Chant, 2000a; Cornwall, 2000). It is important to keep in mind that when including men into analysis, it also reflects an effort to overcome uniform representations of men as 'custodians of patriarchy' (Cornwall, 2000; White, 2000). Including men has not come without challenges and there are few guidelines on how to involve men into analysis. Mainly, attention needs to be dedicated to cross-gender interviews (Chant and Gutmann, 2000). In this current study, fieldwork was carried out by myself as a female researcher and involved male participants, as well as female. The following problematises working with gender issues in the research process as one that is in line with the understanding that identities of the researcher and researched need to be continuously negotiated around notions of fluid subjectivities that are complex and relational, which can be theorised as based on 'sameness and difference' (Valentine, 2002, 116).

Throughout the research process, gender is not necessarily an automatic basis for solidarity or division between the researcher and the researched. When women research women, for example, it is argued that women are inheritably better at exploring the experiences of female participants. However, various authors challenge this view and stress that women have different experiences depending on ethnicity, race, age, sexuality, religion, etc (Madge et al, 1997; McDowell, 1992; Valentine 1997).

In the same way, when women research men, a notion less explored, it is recognised that men also have different experiences with their identities depending on ethnicity, race, age, class, etc (Ortiz, 2005 on men interviewing women; Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001 on men-to-men interviews). Not all men are the same nor do they conform to dominant hegemonic masculinities (Cornwall, 1997; Connell, 2005). Therefore, gender divisions exist when working with both men and women but in comparison, there are fewer problems in the same-sex relationship throughout the research process. More specifically, female researchers note that it is less problematic to gain and maintain access, and establish trust and rapport with women. With inherently less problems in same-sex fieldwork, the following attends mostly to cross gender challenges and strategies.

Throughout the research process, gender is an important issue, especially in terms of gaining access to participants. It is noted that sometimes it is easier for a female researcher to achieve a better rapport with female participants but may find it challenging to contact male interviewees (Bhasin, 1997). Pini (2005), for example, describes how men display their masculinities and present themselves as powerful and busy, and position themselves as having expert and superior knowledge. In consequence, research presents strategies for female researchers to gain access to men where a female researcher may be regarded less of a threat in contacting men through female-dominated networks or directly approaching men through a trustworthy organisation and 'presenting herself as a powerful individual (i.e. an academic)' (McDowell, 1992, 406; Gallo, 2006).

Gender also remains relevant when considering the location of the interviews. In the case of woman-to-man interviews, for example, Lee (1997) highlights the vulnerability of the female interviewers' personal safety when interviewing men on the sexualised topic of workplace harassment. While prioritising the safety of the female interviewers, the author problematises the location of the interviews in both private and public settings where 'interviewing men in his own home or a private office may place women interviewers in potentially dangerous situation, conducting interviews in public places raises difficulties for male informants who may not want their experiences to be overheard' (ibid, 563). Therefore, to protect both the interviewer and the participant it is suggested for the female interviewer to prioritise a safe and comfortable location when interviewing men in private settings.

In terms of power, the implicit assumption that the interviewer always has more power than the interviewee, has been contested during woman-to-man interviews. Early work by McKee and O'Brien (1983), for example, find that men often control the interview situation. Power is particularly relevant when interviewing powerful key informants, and Cornwall (1997) recommends deconstructing hierarchical relationships which is based on 'taking apart taken-for-granted assumptions to explore the contradictions on which they are based' which is useful to 'reveal a host of assumptions, ideas and judgements, that can be understood in terms of people's experience and their cultural context' (ibid, 10). However, not all men are custodians of power or in a privileged position of power in relation to the interviewer. Therefore, in the case of migrant men, it is not always implicit that men have more power than the female interviewer.

During cross gender interviews, research points to the importance of the gender dynamics during the interview. Laughter, which is often overlooked in qualitative research, is argued by Grønnerød (2004) to have a valuable role because it can lead to subtle changes and variations during the interviewing process. In this sense, Lee (1997) agrees that laughter can be used as a strategy to cope with heterosexual tensions, which may lead to positive outcomes when it allows for the interviewer to challenge or probe the male interviewees' views and attitudes. Another useful technique during cross-gender interviews is being informed about the local community. It is important to listen to both women and men's needs, and avoid neglecting their welfare which in return, can lead to positive outcomes during women-to-male interview. Sharing information on the local community may lead men to responsive interviews.

Moreover, it is noted that gender plays a role in how information is gathered. Some authors argue that female participants may be more willing to volunteer more information of a more personal nature while men tend to be more guarded about their emotions and personal lives but 'are quite happy to deal with abstract and impersonal theory' (Bhasin, 1997, 60; Padfield and Procter, 1996). Moreover, McKee and Brien (1983) find that male interviewees find cross-sex interviews to be more successful when talking about certain topics. For example, when discussing family planning, male interviewees find it more appropriate, and less threatening, to discuss this topic with female interviewers rather than with men (also see Ortiz, 2005 on men interviewing women on female sensitive subjects). White (1997, 16) recommends focusing on men's 'private stories' to understand how they support or contradict the public ideologies of masculinity as not all men are the same (Cornwall, 1997; Connell, 2005).

Therefore, working with men 'as human beings, rather than constructing them as 'the problem', is crucial to examining men's multiple identities, as well as women's role in sustaining masculinities (Almeras, 2000; Gutman, 1997; Jackson, 1999).

Negotiating Ethnicity in the Research Process

Similar to gender, ethnicity does not necessarily imply an automatic basis for solidarity or division between the researcher and the researched. It is noted that migrants have various identities, of which ethnicity is of particular relevance. The following problematises differences in ethnic identities and stresses how different identities can create power imbalances between the researcher and participant, and the importance of constantly negotiating identities between the researcher and researched to find common ground (Fortier, 2000).

Ethnic similarities and differences are never fixed between the researcher and the researched. As discussed above, just as a woman researching women may find common ground through gender, it can also carry implications of a possible 'false connectedness' (Seale, 2000, 202). It is crucial to recognise that various different identities along the lines of ethnicity. In terms of my own ethnic background, being half Ecuadorian and American myself, 'there are practical advantages to do with being brought up in the same ethnic culture (familiarity with language, rituals, rules, rules of behaviour, etiquette and so on)' yet, simultaneously bring out differences along the lines of ethnicity, race, class, age, etc (Fortier, 2000, 53) (see below on my own positionality).

Connected to the issue of the participants' ethnic identity and involvement in research is language. All research was undertaken in Spanish by myself as a native speaker which presents fewer problems when accounting for my social reality (Zontini, 2004). However, it is suggested that representation can become problematic in translating and writing. In order to retain some sense of the migrant's voice, I will either pick a similar term in English or leave it in original Spanish. In the case of the latter, it may be right to preserve the original term throughout the research to preserve their style of speech (Arucci and Bialo, 2000).

Moreover, an important issue related to both gender and ethnicity is power throughout the participant's involvement in the research process. Early in the research process, I explored various forms of how to reduce power imbalances between the researcher

and the researched through reciprocity. On the one hand, I debated whether to apply for funding to pay the participants but it simply seemed inappropriate as it would contribute to creating uneven and hierarchical relationship between us. In practice, men and women reacted differently. As I prioritised working through trustworthy organisations and through family members, most participants agreed to 'help me out' due to debt towards the organisation or person I worked through. The exception to this, however, was the case of two men in Madrid who asked for monetary compensation in exchange for their participation. In retrospect, paying participants may have been an efficient strategy to quickly secure participants, but I preferred to explore other options as a small way to show my gratitude. For example, I offered a beverage and snack during my interviews and I made sure that participants were not left out of pocket by reimbursing their transportation costs. It has been suggested that non-financial alternatives have been successful in terms of reciprocity. I accompanied migrants to carry out tasks that may require help, provided information of various sorts (ranging from education, services provided by various institutions, to personal advice on shopping, migration, etc), and the most successful was sharing photos, letters, voice messages and information between Madrid and Ecuador when meeting with transnational families (Hirsch, 1999; Zontini, 2004). Throughout the research process I have also been in touch with various participants via telephone and internet (email, messenger, facebook) where I sent my findings and they provided me with feedback. In addition, findings were presented on a local radio show in the town of Guaranda, Ecuador. Quique, a former radio presenter in Ecuador, volunteered to send bits of his interview to the radio station for it to be broadcasted locally. Responding to Mountz (2002) argument that the dissemination of information not only reduces the power imbalances between the researcher and researched, but it is also useful in terms of gathering information and documenting migrant lives to contribute beyond the academy and build bridges between institutions in various countries, findings were disseminated through an article in Ecuador which was a form of a contribution to a book published by the government's National Secretary for Migration (SENAMI) titled 'Transnational outlooks: views on Ecuadorian migration from Spain and Ecuador'⁴⁵. It was published in Ecuador in 2010 and disseminated among the various collaborators, association leaders, academics, and feminist leaders across Spain and Ecuador. In the year 2011 I presented my thesis at the *Universidad de la Republica* (Uruguay, my country of residence) and at the University of Versailles (France). After submitting this research project there are plans to present in Ecuador.

⁴⁵ Title in Spanish: 'Miradas transnacionales. Visiones de la migración ecuatoriana desde España y Ecuador'

Ethical Participation of Migrant Men and Women

In addition to gender and ethnicity, when working with migrants it is recognised that the ethical participation of regular and irregular migrants is also an important issue (among other things, legality is not the only one but probably the most constraining in terms of gathering data). This issue is central to the researcher and participant interaction in terms of positionality, but is also crucial for their active and ethical involvement throughout the research process. Therefore, there are specific ethical and power-related considerations demanded by research when working with migrants in both the receiving country and with their counterpart in the sending country. The widely held view of migrants, and their families left behind, as passive victims is becoming reassessed as they are active in the research process. Black (2003) points out that it is crucial not to criminalise migrants that are in an ambivalent legal status as it only reinforces their victimhood (legal status can be non-static and ambivalent, Ruhs and Anderson, 2008). The challenge, therefore, is to listen to participants in order to understand their experiences with migration, and avoid overprotection but not neglect their welfare. There are codes of practice to avoid participants being exploited or upset by researchers which include the researcher having the ethical responsibility to deal with the emotions of the participants, to be aware of the pressures they may feel, and as such avoid asking questions which could upset them (Sin, 2005). Also, the researcher maintains responsibility to the participant to seek their permission to refer them to organisations that can help with these issues.

When working with participants, whether in the sending or receiving country, informed consent demands voluntary participation in a research process, with full knowledge of the purpose of the research, what participation will entail, and how the information will be used. In the European context, for example, this may be complicated by the fact that migrants often feel wary of signing their name, especially if they have no formal education or are in ambivalent legal status (Ruhs and Anderson, 2008). However, this may also be relevant from the stance of the sending country, as participants may be wary to disclose information if they have a family member that is abroad and in an irregular legal status. Black (2003, 45) suggests that a way to overcome this is to practice 'confidentiality, openness and justice, doing no harm'. Therefore, with the participant's consent (in writing or verbally on a tape recorder), and ensuring confidentiality, it is argued that regardless of level of education and legal status, participants can also find a means to express themselves. Furthermore, it must be made clear that participants answered only the questions they felt comfortable with,

and withdraw at any time if they wished, thus allowing the option of 'informed dissent' throughout the process. This also gave the participant greater control over their role in the process.

Related to the issue of consent is the extent to which institutions and individuals act as gatekeepers in the initial stage of the research process. As discussed above, there were institutional and individual barriers such as the church and migrant associations. It has also been found that when interviewing couples, one person is the official spokesperson which can lead to difficulties during joint interviews. It is recommended to hold interviews with couples together and then separately (Valentine, 1999). The author notes that when interviewing separately, the person may feel more freedom to express their own individual views, power dynamics and even, relationship secrets. Similarly, White (1997) found that women were more willing to talk about gender relations and roles only in their husband's absence.

Moreover, it has been noted in transnational research that when gaining access through gate keepers, the researcher is inserted into networks which facilitate quick access to the counterparts in the sending country (Hirsch, 1999). When researching in the country of origin, consent and confidentiality was of equal or more importance. As noted above, I was first granted access in Spain only after the migrant worker made a joint decision over the phone with their family members in Ecuador. In Ecuador attention was placed again on consent and to remedy the extent to which individuals acted as gatekeepers in the research process, but mainly on confidentiality from their family that lives overseas and vice versa.

Negotiating Positionality among Ecuadorian Migrants

There were some advantages and points of coincidence between the people I had been working with and myself, and also a number of significant differences between me and most of the people I engaged with in Spain and Ecuador. With regard to gender, being a woman interviewing migrant men could create boundaries in terms of the information that is shared, as noted by Bhasin (1997), but it is also important to keep in mind that when interviewing women, gender does not always translate into solidarity. My privileged situation as a middle-class researcher could create even further boundaries. Therefore, I negotiated an ethnic identity to create commonalities to counter balance our differences. Being a dual national (Ecuador and USA) I have lived for many years in Ecuador which allowed for cultural understanding and to

communicate in a common language. It has been noted that research can be particularly valuable when the researcher is well 'informed, politically aware and sensitive to the local context' (Scheyvens and Leslie, 2000, 126). Furthermore, it has been found that migrants were more willing to talk with someone of their same nationality and being a migrant myself, created a common ground to exchange migrant stories (Zontini, 2004).

Returning 'home' to do fieldwork presented challenges in terms of my own positionality (Ite, 1997). Differences could be created along the lines of my privileged situation as a middle class researcher, however, at the same time, being half Ecuadorian myself, and having met their counterparts in Spain created common ground based on trust to exchange stories. During fieldwork in Spain and in Ecuador, I found myself as simultaneously being an outsider and insider where my multiple identities were fluid, and constantly renegotiated between different settings (Miraftab, 2004).

Fluid and negotiated identities, however, raised some problems of an ethical nature. Before starting fieldwork I was aware that I was constructing my ethnicity and deploying it strategically. More specifically, I resorted to my Ecuadorian background, to access migrants and achieve my research objectives. This makes me uncomfortable because I normally do not think of myself in these terms. I left Ecuador when I was 17 years old and in most cases I identify myself as a dual national (Ecuador and USA). Thus, in stressing similarity with my interviewees I am playing down differences in order to build rapport and establish common ground.

Limitations and how Methodological Issues Affected the Research

This section will review some of the difficulties encountered with mixed methods and a multi-local approach, and how some of these altered the final outcome of the research. As discussed above, the multidisciplinary methodological framework combined both quantitative and qualitative methods. The rationale for using quantitative methods was to create a baseline and gain general information on both Ecuadorian male and female experiences with migration, and follow-up with qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of the gendered nature of their transnational activities and practices in Madrid and Ecuador. Although theory considers quantitative and qualitative methods separately, when putting them in practice they are entrancingly interrelated. For example, when surveying participants responses were usually never brief, and some participants preferred to share details on their experiences. To resolve turning

questionnaire surveys into a *quasi* interview, I took notes on the border of the survey or recorded the survey, and focused on building rapport with the participants. On the other hand, when conducting in-depth interviews, I relied on the participant's survey to focus the questions according to their work and family situation. In a few cases, participants reflected back on their responses from the questionnaire survey and modified these. In addition, when I was interviewing I was looking for contradictions with their responses from the questionnaire survey. Therefore, both methods gather data differently, but complemented one another.

The fieldwork in Spain required time and preparation since I had few previous contacts. At an initial stage I secured access to the *Colectivo loé* and the Evangelical Pentecostal Church, and latter I diversified my contacts to the migrant associations Spanish Commission for Refugee Help, Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre, America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation (AESCO), Religious of Mary Immaculate. Throughout the process I encountered challenges related to diversifying my contacts to other institutions. I contacted a number of non-governmental organisation and migrant association to explore the possibility of collaboration. With the exception of the above, the migrant association '*Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano Ecuatoriana*' and the non-governmental organization ACCEM⁴⁶ were unable to provide concrete collaboration for a variety of reasons, mainly related to a lack of time and interest in an academic study.

Once the initial contacts were built up and the interviewing process started, the fieldwork proceeded quite smoothly. Most of the people I encountered were generous with their time considering that migrants work very long hours, sometimes at unsociable times, and have family responsibilities. In general they seemed keen to contribute to this research project, which they found interesting and of value. A few thanked me whether for listening to their personal story, or for attempting to contribute to improving their situation in Spain, and debating solutions to improve their living and working conditions.

As a female researcher, one of the greatest challenges was to access male participants. As this research deals with migrant men working in jobs that are more closely associated with women, the most difficult aspect was to find male domestic workers and contract cleaners. Mostly this was because men, in addition to the Church and associations, tended to stereotype and identify them with the most masculine

⁴⁶ ACCEM website: www.accem.es (February 11 2011)

aspect of their job. To resolve this, I directly approached men through a trustworthy organisation and presented myself 'as a powerful individual' (i.e. an academic) (McDowell, 1992). I also gained access to men through female-dominated networks (Gallo, 2006). By using both techniques I focused on building rapport with male participants, and then snowballed through both female and male dominated networks.

Also challenging was accessing employers, recruitment agencies, and subcontract agencies. Migrant workers usually did not feel comfortable asking their employers to participate in the research process. I resolved this by interviewing employers based on their dual roles in the community. For example, two migrant women were simultaneously domestic workers and employed more disadvantaged Ecuadorian women in their own home, also known as being both a 'maid' and 'madam' (Lan, 2003). Or I interviewed the Pastor on his experiences with the Evangelical Church in Madrid and also as an employer to an Ecuadorian female cleaner. Finally, I interviewed the head nun of the Mary Immaculate Parish on recruiting domestic workers through the Catholic Church, and a social worker on her role as an activist at the Parish, and as the employer of an Ecuadorian domestic worker. In addition, I originally planned on interviewing more recruitment and subcontracting agencies. In practice this was difficult because they present themselves as powerful and busy. In one particular case, for example, the secretary of a subcontracting agency responded to my request for an interview by depreciably saying, 'we do not have time for those things' (*no tenemos tiempo para esas cosas*).

Working transnationally with Ecuadorian counterparts was an inconsistent experience. It was useful to snowball from Spain in order to gain quick access to a member of a transnational family member in the sending country (also see Hirsch, 1999). Before leaving Spain, I had eleven confirmed contacts in Ecuador. In the meantime, three of my contacts fell through for different reasons. Leila's husband and daughter, for example, decided not to participate in an interview due to personal reasons, I suspected that these were related to marital problems. In the other two cases, interviews were cancelled because of unexpected travel plans and because an elderly grandmother experienced feeling of anxiety with the idea of being interviewed. Thus, 'informed dissent' can also be understood as a form of resistance against their family members living abroad. To compensate for the withdrawal of participants from the research process, I drew on a wide social network to access Ecuadorian counterparts that had a family member living and working abroad in Spain. I contacted four people

but all were hesitant to participate, despite being assured confidentiality, because of the negative discourses associated with migration.

Thus, working transnationally needs to consider the difficulties of working in spaces that are unequally grounded in the country of origin. Similar to the 'flying airbus' cases from the Caribbean and the US, the journey between Ecuador to Spain became a transnational space for all ages to share stories on migration (see Sánchez, 1994). It was a useful place to carry out participant observation. Although accessing families in Ecuador was to some extent challenging, it had compensations during my second phase of fieldwork in Spain. After visiting Ecuador, migrant workers in Spain were keen to hear about my impressions and experiences with their family and with the country. Working transnationally was seen as a rite of passage to consider me a trustworthy and committed researcher in the host society. In return, both men and women shared more in-depth information, especially on the 'under-belly' of migration from the stance of Spain (alcohol, abandonment, sexuality, violence, drugs, etc).

Moreover, I encountered a few issues with the tape recorder and consent form. Some participants felt wary of the formal procedures to participate in the research process, independent of their legal status. Although I was cognisant that it is important for the interviewer to be aware of the various reactions and adapt to their feelings, I always stressed the anonymity and confidentiality of their identity, let them take control over the recorder and give participants the choice to verbally consent (on the tape recorder), as well as the option of signing the consent form in any form they feel more comfortable with (for example, either using an anonymous name, ticking the form or a scribble). When speaking of sensitive issues such as sexuality, violence, alcohol, drugs and marital problems, the tape recorder was an impediment rather than an enhancer in the research process. Therefore, I accommodated migrant workers needs by including detailed notes in my field diary.

Sample of the Informants Surveyed

The sample of the migrant workers interviewed did not aim to be representative. Rather it intended to provide a profile of the demographic characteristics of the group under study and highlight the different economic and social positions of Ecuadorians working and living in Madrid. 100 questionnaires were carried out with more women than men (56 women and 44 men). The over-representation of women in the sample reflects the demand for women in domestic work and the feminisation of the

Ecuadorian migration to Spain. Data available for 2001, however, suggests that the feminisation rate for Ecuador is lower than other Latin American nations (Pellegrino, 2004). This is because women played an important role as pioneers during the initial year of emigration, and that there has been an increase in the number of men migrating as a result of labour demand, and also due to family reunification.

The participants in this study were from diverse origins which covered all four geographical regions of Ecuador: highlands (*sierra*), coastal area (*costa*), Amazon or Oriental region (*Amazonía*), and the Galapagos Islands (see figure 4.1). Data from the 'System for Information on Migration in the Andean Countries' (SIMA for its acronym in Spanish)⁴⁷ on the Ecuadorian migrant population showed that migrants in Spain were predominantly from urban areas, primarily from the highland (city of Quito) and the coastal areas (city of Guayaquil). Comparable, the majority of the participants lived in an urban area prior to moving to Spain (87 percent women and 84 percent men). 31 percent of the urban migrants were originally born in a rural area and then moved to the city at some point in their lives. The latter is consistent with the large rural-to-urban migration flows in Ecuador (Lawson, 1999). Also similar to other studies, the majority of the informants surveyed in Madrid were from the city of Quito (48 percent women and 54 percent men). The remaining participants were from the Amazon neighbour cities of Macas and Puyo (15 percent women and 14 percent men), Machala (10 percent women and 5 percent men, Guayaquil (8 percent women and 11 percent men), and Cuenca (4 percent women and 8 percent men) (also see table 4.2).

⁴⁷ The Department of Sociology at the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO), translated as the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences, founded the 'System for Information on Migration in the Andean Countries' (SIMA). SIMA's data is from survey datasets carried out in 2001, 2005, 2006 and 2007. See more at the website: <http://www.flacsoandes.org>

Figure 4.1: Map of Ecuador's Main Regions and cities



Source: Downloaded map from website: <http://www.ecuador.us/images/ecuadormap.gif> (February 11 2011)

The sample in this study reflected the recent arrival of Ecuadorian migrants to Spain before 2003, the year that the Spanish government required Ecuadorians to obtain a visa, effectively ending ‘surreptitious “tourism” trips’ (Jokisch, 2007, 46). 61 percent women and 59 percent men arrived during the crisis and through a window of opportunity that allowed many to legalise their situation. Only 18 percent women and 11 percent men arrived prior to the crisis in Ecuador (1992-1998) and 22 percent women and 30 percent men after the change in the Spanish visa legislation (2003-2007) (also see table 4.2).

The age structure of the sample shows the predominance of migrant men and women in the prime of the economically active age group. The large majority of the workers were in the 26 and 35 (44 percent women and 45 percent men), 36 to 45 (20 percent women and 25 percent men), and 46 to 55 age groups (18 percent women and 9 percent men). Only 14 percent women and 16 percent men were between 18 and 25, and 4 percent women and 5 percent men were over 56 years of age. In comparison, other sources also report that Ecuadorian migrants are in the working age group, with

recent arrivals tending to be younger which is related to under aged children moving for purposes of family reunification (FLACSO and UNDP, 2008) (also see table 4.2).

The educational level of the sample coincides with data from Ecuador. FLACSO and UNDP (2008)⁴⁸ find that there are an ample number of Ecuadorian migrants in Spain with a secondary degree. 27 percent women and 34 percent men in Spain had primary education, 55 percent women 52 percent men had at least a secondary degree, and 17 percent women and 12 percent men reported some form of tertiary education. In comparison, and similarly, 18 percent women and men surveyed had primary schooling, 44 percent women and 52 percent men had completed a secondary education, and only 7 percent women and 2 percent men reported to have started a tertiary education. Also, an equal 25 percent women and men were unable to complete a secondary education mainly as a result of family and economic responsibilities (also see table 4.2).

Furthermore, another imbalance in my sample is in terms of place of work (private and public). Although I aimed to cover equal numbers of men and women working in both private and public spaces, this was not possible because fewer men worked in private than in public spaces. In the sample, 45 percent women and 27 percent men worked as domestic workers in private homes, 43 percent women and 64 percent men cleaned in public spaces, and 12 percent women and 9 percent men combined working in private and public spaces. Deskilling was frequent among Ecuadorian men and women given that most had at least secondary education, and had jobs with a higher status in Ecuador (also see table 4.2).

A large proportion of migrants in the sample had a legal status that allowed them to reside in Spain. From the questionnaire survey, 95 percent women and 84 percent men declared to be in a regular legal status. The most common status was a residency and work permit, held by 68 percent women and 73 percent men, followed by 11 percent women with a residency permit only, and 16 dual nationals (also see table 4.2). This indicates that Ecuadorians in Spain are a population that is settling in Spain and quickly acquired Spanish residency through the regularisation processes. It also indicates that irregular migration remains a problem within the Ecuadorian community, as much as the temporality of the residency and work permits.

⁴⁸ The data used in this study is a recompilation from surveys carried out by INEC-SIEH (2005) and ENEMDU (2006 and 2007)

Given that one of the aims of this study was to examine the transnational family, I also achieved diversity in terms of the constructions of the family life. On the one hand, most spouses were living side-by-side in Spain. This is reflected in the fact that 81 percent of the married migrants were already living together in Spain because of the need to work together in the Spanish labour market to 'get ahead'. Child reunification, which is a gendered process, was demonstrated in that 61 percent of the women and 35 percent of the men surveyed had children living with them in Spain. In comparison, women were quicker than men to reunify with their children, and men were more actively engaged through transnational fatherhood (65 percent transnational fathers and 39 percent transnational mothers) (also see table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Main Characteristics of Survey Informants

	Sample (100 surveys)	
	Female	Male
Gender	56%	44%
Region of Origin		
Rural	13% (7)	16% (7)
Urban	87% (48)	84% (37)
City of Origin		
Quito	48% (23)	54% (20)
Macas-Puyo	15% (7)	14% (5)
Machala	10% (5)	5% (2)
Guayaquil	8% (4)	11% (4)
Santo Domingo	4% (2)	-
Cuenca	4% (2)	8% (3)
Other	10% (5)	8% (3)
Age		
18-25	14% (8)	16% (7)
26-35	44% (24)	45% (20)
36-45	20% (11)	25% (11)
46-55	18% (10)	9% (4)
56+	4% (2)	5% (2)
Education		
Primary incomplete	5% (3)	2% (1)
Primary complete	18% (10)	18% (8)
Secondary incomplete	25% (14)	25% (11)
Secondary complete	44% (24)	52% (23)
Tertiary incomplete	7% (4)	2% (1)
Year of Arrival		
1992-1998	18% (10)	11% (5)
1999-2002	61% (34)	59% (26)
2003-2007	22% (12)	30% (13)
Employment		
Domestic work	45% (25)	27%
Contract cleaning	43% (24)	64%
Domestic and contract cleaning (combined)	12% (7)	9%
Legal Status		
Residency and work permit	68% (38)	73% (32)

Residency only	11% (6)	-
Dual nationality	16% (9)	11% (7)
Waiting renewal or irregular	7% (4)	11% (5)
Family Reunification		
Spousal Reunification	81%	
Child Reunification	61% (34)	35% (15)
Transnational Family		
Transnational Spouse	19%	
Transnational Parent	39% (22)	65% (29)

Sample of the Interviewees in Madrid

From the above informants, 33 participants were recruited for in-depth interviews in Madrid were non-randomly chosen based on nationality and line of work (18 women and 15 men). The purpose of these interviews was to get an in-depth understanding of the Ecuadorian community in Madrid in terms of their settlement patterns in the host society and the connections they maintain with the home country. The interviews gathered migrant workers perceptions, attitudes, relations, and opinions around the gendered nature of migration, employment trajectories in Madrid, and of their family relations in both the countries of origin and destination. Additional questions were posed to migrant men on their experiences with working in a feminised job.

Similar to the sample of informants surveyed, the 33 interviewees were from diverse origins which covered all four geographical regions of Ecuador. Comparable to data that shows that migrants in Spain are predominantly from urban areas, most participants lived in an urban area prior to moving to Spain (14 women and 13 men from urban areas, in comparison to 4 women and 2 men from rural areas). The interviewees in Madrid were mostly from the city of Quito (4 women and 6 men) and Macas (6 women and 1 man). The remaining participants were from the cities of Cuenca (3 women and 1 man), Ibarra (1 woman), Riobamba (1 women), Guayaquil (1 women and 1 man), Ambato (1 man), Latacunga (1 women and 1 man), and Machala (1 women and 1 man).

The sample also reflected the recent arrival of Ecuadorian migrants to Spain. 7 women and 7 men arrived to Spain between 1999 and 2002, which were the worst crisis years in Ecuador. 5 women and 3 men arrived prior to the crisis in Ecuador (1992-1998), and 6 women and 5 men between 2003 and 2007.

The age structure, again similar to the sample of informants surveyed, reflects the predominance of migrant men and women in the prime of the economically active age

group. 7 women and 7 men were between 26 and 35 years of age, 5 women and 4 men were 36 to 45 years old, and 4 women and 3 men in the 46 to 55 age groups. Only one woman was between 18 and 25, and 1 woman and 1 man over 56 years of age.

The sample considers variety in terms of family composition. Interviews were held with married couples that managed to consolidate a family household in Spain. This included 8 residential wives and 9 husbands, 8 local mothers and 6 fathers, and 1 man was both a residential and transnational father. They were posed with additional questions with regard to their experiences with family reunification, as well as to their past experiences as a transnational family. In addition, interviews were held with transnational families. This included 1 transnational wife and 1 husband, and 9 transnational mothers and 4 fathers. Finally, interviews were conducted with 2 single women and 5 men to analyse their experiences with regard to family life.

Deskilling was frequent among Ecuadorian men and women given that most had at least secondary education, and had jobs with a higher status in Ecuador. In the sample, 7 women and 5 men had completed a second education, and 5 women and 5 men had an incomplete secondary education. Also, 4 women and 3 men had a complete primary education. On the extremities, 2 women had an incomplete primary education and 2 men had an incomplete tertiary education. Also, these were mainly professionals, housewives, and students that moved to Spain to work in domestic service and contract cleaning.

With regard to the place of work, this sample responds to the diversity of the cleaning sector (see Chapter 1 for a discussion; also see Yeates, 2005). In total there were 11 domestic workers, 17 cleaners, and 5 private-public cleaners. Although I aimed to cover equal numbers of men and women working in both private and public spaces, this was not possible because fewer men worked in private than in public spaces (see table 4.3). Men and women carried out jobs as diverse as cleaning and caring that were provided in a wide range of settings such as the home, hospitals, churches, offices, restaurants, parks, schools, and in a wider range of contexts such as 'private' settings (homes), public institutions (elderly homes, schools, offices, transport, parks, etc.), and in private business (subcontract agencies, restaurants, hotels, and offices).

I also included the experiences of one couple that worked side-by-side as domestic workers, as it is a rarer working and living arrangement. As noted above, interviews

were intended to be held with both and then separately to gain insight into their gender relations, conflicts and power struggles (Valentine, 1999). In practice, it was impossible to hold a joint interview due to time limitations so they were interviewed separately. In three other cases, though, I did hold joint spousal interviews with participants who did not work side-by-side but did carry out 'female' work. While conducting joint spousal interviews, it provided insight into the household gender relations.

With regard to how men's identities are constructed in the labour market, and for purposes of comparison, I also interviewed 2 male Ecuadorian construction workers. It is widely acknowledged that migrant men are mainly concentrated in construction work in Spain, and that 'female' domestic work influences men's gender identities. The purpose of these interviews with construction workers was to explore similarities and differences in men's experiences with labour in a 'masculine' sector of the labour market and in the transnational family. Additional questions were posed on their integration into the host society, transnational connections, and perceptions of Ecuadorian men and women who carry out 'female' work in Madrid. Also important, these two men were selected for their line of work as well as their leadership roles in the transnational community. On the one hand, Damian organised the migrant network between Madrid and Macas in Ecuador, and in the other case Juan was a gatekeeper for the Evangelical Church. Both were important figures and 'insiders' which helped gain perspective on the labour market and on the Ecuadorian community.

Table 4.3: Profile of Interviews by Gender and Working Arrangement

	TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE	COUPLE
Total	33	18	14	1
Domestic workers:	11	8	2	1
<i>Live-in</i>		3	1	-
<i>Live-out</i>		3	1	1
<i>Hourly</i>		2	-	-
Private – public	5	3	2	
Cleaners:	17	7	10	-
<i>Small business</i>		2	2	-
<i>School/Hospital/Church</i>		3	-	-
<i>Office</i>		2	1	-
<i>Restaurant</i>		-	1	-
<i>Street/park</i>		-	2	-

<i>Transport</i>	-	2	-
<i>Other (construction)</i>	-	2	-

Sample of the Transnational Families

The sample of transnational families was composed of 7 women and 4 men. The gender imbalance is a reflection of the predominant feminisation of care giving across the global. The purpose of the 11 in-depth interviews, although not representative, was to explore perceptions, opinions, and experiences with migration, changes in the household structure, employment, social and economic linkages with their family member in Spain, and future migrations plans from the perspective of those left behind.

As discussed above, I relied on the snowballing technique from Spain to gain quick access to a family member of the nuclear household in Ecuador, mainly the cities of Quito (5 women and 2 men), Ibarra (1 woman), and Macas (2 women and 3 men). In Ecuador the female family members of a variety of ages included 1 transnational wife, 2 transnational mothers and 5 fathers, 3 transnational daughters, and 1 transnational sister.

Interviews with the female member of the nuclear transnational family were held in private homes (3), workplaces (5), and restaurants (3) and with the presence of a wide range of relatives. For example, 4 of the interviews were held with women while they were looking after the children (mothers and/or 'other mothers'), and also in the company of a female family of the extended household (cousin, sister, aunts, nephews, etc). In a different case, an older male participant was interviewed in the company of his wife and grandson. Combining interviews with participant observation was useful for getting insight into the various compositions of the household level, its internal dynamics, and to the lives of transnational children.

The sample represented a range of socio-economic characteristics. With regard to age, 1 woman was between 18-25 years of age, 2 women and 1 man were in the 26 to 35 age group, 2 women and 1 man were between 36 to 45 years old, 1 woman and 2 men in the 46 to 55 age group, and 1 man was over 56 years of age. Both men and women were professionals with a secondary education, but women were also responsible for child care. 5 out of the 6 women that worked outside the home were also mothers and/or 'other mothers'. The exception was the case of a young woman

from Macas who stopped working to care on a full-time basis for her son, 4 siblings, and 2 nephews.

As discussed above, there were disadvantages and advantages with accessing transnational families from Spain. Transnational families that were experiencing difficulties or weary of an interview denied me contact. Contrarily, those that did give grant me access were generous with their time and information. In this sense, it was important to give transnational participants the option of 'informed dissent' as well as some control over deciding what, and what not to tell, throughout the research process.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that methodological developments in research in the field of social sciences are relevant to studying international and transnational migration from a gender perspective. It highlighted that it is possible for a single study to use both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse the themes of migration, work and the family. For example, the qualitative methods obtained rich information in the participants' own words which was complimented by the larger scale survey. This chapter also raised some of the issues involved in examining the relations between men and women at a transnational level and discussed some of its advantages and disadvantages. Central to working transnationally are the issues of access to willing male and female participants and the issue of confidentiality across both geographical regions.

CHAPTER 5

The Migration of Ecuadorian Labour Migrants to Madrid

In the context of the theoretical, background, and methodological material, and before turning to the core empirical chapters, this chapter will discuss the main empirical findings from the research conducted in Spain and in Ecuador. This objective of this chapter is to briefly analyse the migratory experiences of the migrant workers under study in terms of the connections they maintain with the countries of origin and destination. The first section considers men and women's reasons for migrating, the decision-making process, and the choice of destination. Since the main reason for Ecuadorians to migrate was to improve their economic opportunities, the second section of the chapter will focus on their access to employment and immigration status. Finally, this chapter identifies their transnational links with the country of origin which are manifested mainly through family connections.

Reasons for the Migration of Ecuadorians to Spain

International labour migration, or the movement of people for employment across borders, is an increasingly important feature of globalisation. In 2009 the Human Development Report on 'Human Mobility and Development' it was estimated that there were 70 million international migrant workers, mainly from developing nations moving to the Global North. For the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the key determining factors behind this type of migration are 'the "pull" of changing demographics and labour market needs in many industrialized countries; the "push" of population, unemployment and crisis pressures in less-developed countries, and established inter-country networks based on family, culture and history' (IOM, 2010, 1). In the case of Ecuador, there has been a history of labour migration, mainly to the US and Venezuela, with people migrating in search of better employment and professional opportunities. However, as outlined in Chapter 3 Ecuadorian rates of migration have been increasing since the late 1990s and destinations have diversified to include European countries, mainly Spain. The main 'push-pull' factors of the flows of labour migration have been the socio-economic deterioration in Ecuador, the migration chains, and the demand for unskilled labour in Spain.

From the perspective of the Ecuadorian migrants surveyed, in terms of the 'push' factors, the majority migrated primarily for economic or labour reasons (39 women and 43 men). A common response from both men and women was 'my salary was not sufficient' (*mi sueldo no me alcanzaba*) to cover every day expenses such as education, health, housing and food, and migration was a way 'to get ahead' (*salir adelante*). However, participants also suggested other factors that could have influenced their decision to migrate to Spain. Some had migrated to join a family member in Spain (16 percent women and 11 percent men), and others were motivated by curiosity or the desire to travel or to study. In terms of gender, earlier research on migrant women and gender inequalities emerges as an important "push" factor for respondents (Radcliffe, 1990). However, this was hardly acknowledged by interviewees in this study, with most arguing that men and women migrated for similar reasons. This could partly be due to the widespread damaging effects of the crisis on the middle class, and also because of women's advantage to access the Spanish labour market (see also Chapter 3).

Decision-making Processes behind International Labour Migration

In the experiences narrated by the Ecuadorian migrant workers in Spain, it was when focusing on the decision-making process that gender differences emerged. Some participants believed that men moved first and then brought female relatives to Spain, while other said that women migrated ahead and then requested family reunification. On the one hand, the decision for a man to lead the way was related to their identity to act as the main leader, provider, and protector of the family. Manolo, for example, a thirty-one year-old man from Macas and married to Miriam, a live-out domestic worker, decided to migrate ahead of his wife Miriam and his two daughters to safeguard and protect his family after hearing endless accounts of women abandoning spouses and children. In this particular case, and similar to the large majority, men residing in Spain consolidated a family through conjugal reunification, mainly to achieve economic and labour market improvement (only a total of 19 percent were transnational spouses). Other men preferred to move to Spain and form a transnational family (65 percent were transnational fathers). The preference for transnational fatherhood seemed to be that men felt that his family was better-off living from his remittances in Ecuador. Quique, for example, lived in Spain for one year and worked as a domestic worker and cleaner to sustain his mother, wife, and three children back in Guaranda, Ecuador. For the fifty-one year-old man, and similar to the other transnational fathers, leaving a wife and

children behind had been emotionally difficult. Other migrant men hoped to either return to Ecuador or bring their family over at a later stage (also see Chapters 7 and 8).

On the other hand, among the women a different decision-making pattern emerges, which was related to their family roles. The majority of women in this study moved to join their husband, a friend, or a family member to Spain. However, they did not fit the stereotype of the dependent migrant woman. They moved to Spain to join their husbands and work together in the Spanish labour market to 'get ahead' (*salir adelante*). Some of these women were able to travel with their children and over the years, the majority of women had already reunified with them (61 percent were residential mothers). For example Lourdes around 40 years of age and from the Amazonian city of Macas narrated the fear of travelling alone with her three children, the youngest being only months old, to join her husband. Other women were planning to bring their children over in the near future, or planned on having children after migration (39 percent were transnational mothers). Leaving behind children was the most difficult thing women and men had to do, and all regretted the time they spent apart from their children. Single women that did not have the economic support of a family member in Spain experienced most hardship with child reunification given its slow and demanding process both economically and legally. Magda and Emanuela, for instance, were both single mothers from the Amazonian city of Macas and aged around forty-five. In the case of Magda she travelled in the year 2003 with her two adolescent children thanks to the economic help and housing support she received from her sister Miriam in Spain. Emanuela, on the other hand, travelled alone in the year 1998 because she did not personally know anyone in Madrid. After leaving her son under the care of his father (ex-partner), she arrived to Spain with a suitcase and a telephone number. She rang the number from Barajas airport and they gave her the name of a metro stop. Maria, Damian's husband, met her at the metro stop and then walked Emanuela over to an overcrowded apartment where she lived for a month until she found work as a live-in domestic worker. When they walked into the apartment, Maria told her to look for a spot on the floor to lay down her luggage and sleep. After living and working for six years in Spain, Emanuela was finally able to reunite with her son.

Choosing a Destination

When analysing the reasons for Ecuadorians to migrate to Spain, what emerged as key was the role of migration networks. The most relevant reason for Ecuadorians to choose Spain as their migrant destination was the existence of social and religious

networks which played a key role as a source of support and resources (also see Pedone, 2003; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002). A chain migration was set in motion in Ecuador which reached an incipient degree of institutionalisation in 2001 with agencies in some cities, including Quito, Ibarra, and Macas, advertising and financing travel opportunities to Spain. Friends and family members in the country of origin also played a fundamental role in sponsoring trips by selling-off property or placing mortgages on houses. Among the respondents in this study, 95 percent of the men and women said they had relatives, friends or some other connections in the country prior to their migration. Ecuadorians arrived in Madrid with a tourist visa and then overstayed, aided by these networks, which were key in providing initial accommodation and finding employment in Spain. The remaining 5 percent considered themselves as pioneer migrants and shared various accounts of difficulties of migrating without any help. Among the pioneer migrants, Damian moved to Spain in 1992 and set up a network between the cities of Macas and Madrid. Damian counted on his son to work and jointly purchase a flat in Madrid, and also on his wife Maria and his son to recruit migrants through the Evangelical Church in the city of origin. This particular religious network was critical in aiding migration between the two cities but also charged elevated fees for assistance in financing, reserving and purchasing plane tickets and passports. The cost for an individual to travel to Spain was over US \$2,000. In Spain, the aid given by Damian and his family was also accompanied by exploitation. The recently arrived migrants were provided with an overcrowded flat, and in return charged high rent and elevated interest rates on debts, as well as unfilled expectations in terms of access to the Spanish labour market. This network, as well as others in general, did not evolve into a wider sense of solidarity but rather created hatred and fragmentation among Ecuadorians in the Evangelical Church and in the wider community.

Networks are important when choosing a destination for migration but they are not always the only factor. Other issues like language, culture and perceived opportunities are also significant (King, Fielding and Black, 1997). The historical links with Ecuador, the common language, and perceived cultural similarities for integration, were important factors for many respondents to choose Spain. In some cases, going to Spain was also seen as an alternative to migrating to the US, because visa regulations were seen as more restrictive, as pointed out in other studies (see Camacho and Hernandez, 2005; Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002). In the case of Jabari, from the Southern province of Azuay, he said that before arriving to Spain he had tried to go to the US but was detained at the border. Jabari gave details of his two unsuccessful trips to the US in the year 2000. The first trip involved going by sea and land which

cost him a total of US \$10,000. He financed this by selling his own business. The second trip cost an additional \$2,000 for which he took out a loan. After the two failed attempts to the US, Jabari decided to move to Spain partly to pay off the loan created to go to the US, and also because Spain had fewer legal restrictions and was less costly to access in comparison to the US. Similar to Jabari, three other men and women planned to migrate in the near future to the US or the UK, as they were perceived as offering better work and economic opportunities than Spain.

Employment Opportunities in Madrid

Since the main reason for Ecuadorians to migrate was to improve their economic opportunities, and that of their families, access to employment was a key concern. However, it is acknowledged that the jobs and income opportunities tend to be very limited for migrants as they are generally concentrated in the low end niches of the labour market (see Sole and Parella, 2003 on Spain). There is a gender differentiation in the economic sectors in which migrants work. Broadly speaking, men are mainly concentrated in construction and women primarily in domestic service. The evidence from this study shows that female migrants, and to a lesser degree men, work in feminised sectors of the Spanish labour market. In the sample, 45 percent women and 27 percent men worked as domestic workers in private homes, 43 percent women and 64 percent men cleaned in public spaces, and 12 percent women and 9 percent men combined working in private and public spaces. Deskilling was frequent among Ecuadorian men and women given that most had at least secondary education and had jobs with a higher status in Ecuador. Independently of their educational level and employment experience, however, the Colectivo Ioé (2000) points out that the majority of migrant women end up working in domestic service, and at some point in the employment trajectories it is increasingly common for men and women to work in the cleaning sector (see also McIlwaine, 2010). This is because of the high labour demand in domestic work, and more recently in the cleaning sector (in offices, department stores, etc), which tends to be filled by migrant workers. All of the respondents in this study thought that access to employment in the domestic sector was easier for women than men, mainly because of the great demand for female workers. This was the case of Sara who migrated in 2004 from the city of Macas and found a job for her husband as a domestic worker for a wealthy Spanish businessman. Sara found work for the couple only days after her arrival to Spain whereas her husband German had spent six months, prior to her arrival, doing a variety of unstable jobs.

Employment in so-called feminised jobs such as domestic and cleaning work can have adverse effects, given existing gender roles. Through research it has been increasingly recognised that a loss in occupational status can have more of an effect on migrant men than women. Here it is important to bear in mind that not all men are custodians of power or in a privileged position of power (Cornwall, 2000; White, 2000). In the case of the UK, for example, Perrons *et al* (2010) find that the 'handyman phenomenon' creates a class-based division among men. This is partly because English men are finding it increasingly difficult to manage a work-life balance, and migrant men are increasingly responsible for performing 'masculine' household tasks and find themselves in an inferior position (see also McIlwaine, 2010). In this study, a descending status was also noted by men in Spain. Juan José, for example, moved from Quito to Spain to join his wife Martha and, because he was an older man, he only found work cleaning and caring for an elderly Spanish man. The downward occupational mobility of being a migrant care worker for a Spanish man had been traumatic for Juan José who admitted during an interview at a café that: 'It was the most horrible thing I have had to do in my life' (McDonald's C/Princesa, Madrid, April 2007). On the other hand, paid work outside the home is central for the construction of masculine identities, including personal achievement and development, autonomy and independence, social recognition and prestige, asserting the role of provider and protector of the family, and as a simple means of subsistence (Fuller, 2003; see more in Chapter 6).

Immigration Status

For migrants in general, immigration status in the country of residence is the most important factor for settlement. Immigration status conditions integration including access to employment, social, economic and political rights and benefits. Without doubt, irregular migrants tend to be the most vulnerable of all. Research suggests that a large proportion of the Latin American migrant communities in the Spain are in this situation (Clandestino, 2009). All respondents in this study were open to offer information on their past or current immigration status since all Ecuadorian migrants, as well as other Latin American groups, had been or continue to be in the process of being irregular migrants (*sin papeles*). From the questionnaire survey, 95 percent women and 84 percent men declared to be in a regular legal status out of which 16 people are dual nationals. Despite Spain's recent regularisation processes⁴⁹, these

⁴⁹ As discussed in chapter 3, migrant workers from developing countries were regularised in Spain through a separate quota system (domestic service, construction, and agriculture). In addition, there were frequent

were critiqued for being on a temporary or renewable basis. Ramón, for instance, arrived to Spain in the year 2002 and did a variety of jobs including construction and domestic work and did not benefit from regularisation because he did not have information on how to go about the process. During the interview held at the Evangelical Church he explained that he failed to present all the required documentation and as a result he re-submitted his application to obtain legal residence. After following-up with Ramón in 2008, he eventually was granted a regular legal situation. Nevertheless some migrants found it increasingly difficult to renew their work permits, given the stricter regulations and temporarily moved between being regular and irregular migrants, as in the case of Ramón. This would agree with Ruhs and Anderson (2006) concept of 'semi-compliance' where migrant workers do not always fall in the legal-illegal dichotomy.

Although legal problems in principle affect men and women migrants equally, as most interviewees agreed, the data suggests some gender differences. There were suggestions that for women it might be easier to achieve legal immigration status because it is easier for them to find work. Although some respondents believed that women were more successful in obtaining regular legal status than men, other studies suggest that often they face greater discrimination more widely in society (see also Camacho and Hernandez, 2005). In the cases of spousal reunification, the migrant status of women often depended on that of their husbands or partners. Lorelei, a woman in her 40s from the city of Ibarra, and her 4 children applied for a visa and joined her husband in Spain. Lorelei was surprised to arrive to Spain in 2008 and find that she only had a residency permit and was unable to work for at least 1 year. At some point, five other women surveyed in Spain were initially dependent on their husband's migrant status. None of the migrant men in the study were in a similar situation. Rather, at some point men found themselves as irregular migrants for longer periods of time than women because of the difficulty to find work making them unable to renew their residency permits.

In comparison to other destinations such as the US and Northern Europe, Spain was perceived as being easier to legally integrate among the Ecuadorian participants. Cecilio, who lived in both Germany and Spain, explained his preference for living in Southern Europe. In the year 2001 he moved to Germany after his sister-in-law offered him a place to stay and help to find work. In Munich he lived irregularly where he had

amnesty programmes granting legal status to irregular migrants (in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2005).

to move clandestinely through the city without steady work. Disappointed with the outlook in Germany, he moved to Madrid because he felt that it is easier to obtain a legal status, the range of jobs open to him in Spain were wider, and that he could live more freely without being threatened by the police.

Integration in Spain

In the host country, it was a common perception among many respondents, although not all, that integration was easier for women than men. This observation was generally based on women identifying themselves positively with access to the labour market, child reunification, and men's greater participation in the household. Most interviewees believed that it was easier for women to find work and therefore were better at integrating into the Spanish society. Others female participants argued that women integrated faster because of their family responsibilities. Contrary to the assumption that migration by and large leads to family breakdown, findings from the sample group in this study showed that family unity was an essential element for men and women's integration in the host society. This is reflected in the fact that 81 percent of the married migrants were already living together in Spain. Without denying cases of family breakdown, all respondents stressed the importance of consolidating a family throughout the migration process which was related to their gender roles. Male participants were joined by their wives to 'get ahead' economically to ascribe to breadwinner responsibility in transnational spaces, and women were quicker than men to reunify with their children, which adhered to their role as mothers (61 percent of the women and 35 percent of the men surveyed had children living with them in Spain). To a lesser degree men and women were active in wider community activities, including church groups and migrant associations.

Discrimination in Madrid

The main obstacle to migrant worker's integration in Spain was related to discrimination. Some participants referred to the poor employment conditions and the significant descent in social status given their higher educational level. Clarita, for instance, a nurse living in Madrid, said that initially she tried finding work in her field, but was told that it would be almost impossible because she was Ecuadorian. She worked as a cleaner and care worker for an elderly Spanish man in his home (see also Yeates, 2004 on Irish nurses). Others complained about the stereotypes they had to face because of the negative media images that associated Ecuadorian migrants with

alcohol, violence, and prostitution. These came up during participant observation, interviews and in discussions with respondents on how discrimination had consequences on their lives in Madrid. On her daily journey to her job as a live-out domestic worker, Miriam expressed her indignation when walking by a graffiti that read 'immigrants out!' (*Inmigrantes fuera*). More severely, two other female participants were victims of domestic violence, and Fabien talked about a traumatic experience when his Ecuadorian flatmates threatened to kill him with a knife (see Chapters 7 and 8). Migrant workers also identified emotional and psychological issues, such as loneliness and depression. This was particularly relevant to male and female domestic workers who worked and lived in private homes, and to the participants who were living apart from their families in Ecuador.

In addition, there were ambiguous references to discrimination on the basis of race. On the one hand, it was very difficult for Ecuadorian migrant workers to ethnically identify themselves, which was a reflection of the fragmentation along the lines of race in the country of origin (see Chapter 3). About half of the participants identified themselves as not having any racial problems and the other half identified themselves as *mestizos* and commented on how they felt that Spaniards frowned upon their racial diversity. Datta *et al* (2008, 15) highlight that migration is an embodied experience which reveals migrants ethnic and racial distinctiveness, or sense of being the 'other'. To a lesser degree, some shared the widespread concerns in terms of the fragmentation and envy that existed among the wider Ecuadorian migrant community in Madrid.

Transnational Activities in Spain and in Ecuador

Recent work analyses the relationship between gender and the emergence of transnational activities, looking at differences between men and women in types and levels of transnational participation, as well as the implications of this for gender relations and equality. By and large these emerging bodies of research point out that migrant men tend to participate more actively in transnational activities oriented to sustaining organisations and associations in the country of origin (Goldring, 2001; Mahler, 1999; Mahler and Pessar, 2003; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Women are believed to be more active in maintaining transnational relations with the home country, relating mostly to the sending of remittances to their families and the practices associated with 'transnational motherhood' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; also see Chapter 7). However, as argued in Chapter 2, these conclusions tend to be based on a limited

range of transnational activities and case studies. Evidence from this study pointed towards both men and women as being active in maintaining 'private' social and economic transnational relations oriented towards the home country. However, there were some differences in the type of involvement as male participants were more actively engaged through transnational fatherhood (65 percent transnational fathers and 39 percent transnational mothers). The latter is contrary to what the literature suggests, which is that men participate transnationally in public activities (Jones-Correa, 1998).

Studies on gender and transnational migration suggest that the family members 'left behind' in the country of origin participate in transnational activities but are portrayed in a disadvantaged position in comparison to their counterparts living abroad (Mahler and Pessar, 2001). There is a wealth of studies from developing nations that revolves around the negative impacts of female out-migration on feminising unpaid care work in the country of origin (Herrera, 2002, 2008; Pribilsky, 2007; Schmalzbauer, 2004). For instance, non-migrant women are given greater childcare responsibilities as 'other mothers' because men are not viewed as substitutes. Evidence from this study found that there was effectively a feminisation of child care in the country of origin, while also participating in the paid labour market.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the context for the research in relation to Ecuadorian migrant workers in the cleaning sector in Madrid, Spain. Clearly men and women's autonomous participation in migration resulted in a variety of experiences. With regard to employment, a significant number of women, and to a lesser degree men, were incorporated in domestic work and contract cleaning. Also, the empirical findings identify that these Ecuadorian migrant worker's role in the family were manifested mainly through 'residential mothering' and 'transnational fatherhood' in the host society, and through non-migrant women roles as 'other mothers' in the sending country. The following three chapters will examine migrant men and women's in-depth experiences in the labour market (Chapter 6), the formation of a transnational family in both the countries of origin and destination (Chapter 7), and the reconstruction of the family in the context of the destination country (Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 6

The Experiences of Ecuadorian Migrant Workers in Domestic Work and Contract Cleaning

It has been suggested that migrant workers' experiences in the labour market should be taken into account to understand their experiences in the host society and the ways in which they construct transnational ties. The growing number of studies that analyse Latin American men and women's incorporation into European labour markets show that there is a differentiation in the economic sectors in which migrants work. Broadly speaking, migrant men are mainly concentrated in construction and agricultural work, and migrant women primarily in domestic service (see also Castles and Miller, 2003; Colectio Ioe, 2001). The analysis of domestic service often assumes that these types of jobs are uniformly exploitative of women migrant workers and simply widen divisions between migrant women and their female employers. However, there is growing empirical evidence across Europe that migrant women are moving from domestic service into contract cleaning, and migrant men from developing countries are increasingly performing these feminised jobs in the labour market (Catarino and Oso, 2000; Datta *et al*, 2009, 2010; Herrera, 2005; Kilkey, 2010; McIlwaine *et al*, 2006; Perrons *et al*, 2010; Pedone, 2007; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010; Wills *et al*, 2010). In this chapter on Ecuadorian migrant workers' experiences in the labour market, when migrant men's experiences are taken into account, a different and much nuanced perspective emerges. It first demonstrates that both migrant men and women were broadly undervalued when carrying out domestic and contract cleaning jobs in Madrid, and then concludes by arguing that access to feminised work was relatively easy to secure for women but the conditions of work tended to be slightly better for men once they secured a position.

Pre-migration Gender Ideologies around Paid Work

In gender and migration research it is argued that migrants' incorporation into the labour market in the host society should take into account practices from the sending country that traditionally associate men with public productive work and women with reproductive tasks (Chant and Craske, 2003; Pessar, 1994). Findings from the questionnaire survey illustrated some traditional gender divisions of work prior to migration where the majority of men were employed in Ecuador (83%) in comparison to

half of the women who did not formally participate in the labour market. The latter was particularly significant for young women who were mothers or students who withdrew from work in Ecuador to embrace the role of a housewife (19% housewives and 26% students) (see also Pessar, 1994). Labour force participation in Ecuador among the remaining half was nothing new but they were mostly concentrated in part-time work, self-employment, or informal jobs, and they earned less than men (see also McIlwaine, 2010; Zentgraf, 2002). This is the case of Maria, a fifty-two year-old married woman from the Amazon region of Ecuador. I first met Maria in a hospital in Madrid, where we were visiting a mutual acquaintance whose daughter was in the Intensive Care Unit after undergoing heart surgery. In the hospital, Maria shared her experiences on how she worked to sustain her four children when living in Ecuador:

There [in Ecuador] I did not get money for my work. I use to work more than I do here. I use to tend the farm, milk the cows, care for the animals, cook, care for the children, and wash the clothes on the river banks. It is very difficult and I had to work even on Sunday mornings and evenings. (8 May 2007, Hospital)

Despite long work hours, Maria did not generate an income and lived an austere lifestyle, especially after her husband Damien decided to move to Spain in 1993. She received remittances on a monthly basis but this was not sufficient to cover all of the household expenses. To match Damien's remittances, she learned to attend to her husband's affairs in his absence, and also continued to be fully responsible for childcare and the farm work. After two years of living transnationally, Manuela moved to Spain to work first as a domestic worker and then as a cleaner/carer for elderly people in a public institution. Most female respondents agreed with Manuela that in Ecuador women are fully responsible for the housework and childcare, but in Spain it is increasingly difficult for a woman to be full-time housewife due to the economic demands. 'The custom is very different, here the wife and husband have to work together all day or else there is not enough money for the family' (*no alcanza*), said Manuela.

Nevertheless, access to paid work in Spain could be a painful experience given changes in gender ideologies. This was highlighted by women who did not work in Ecuador but also by those who did work in Ecuador given the degree of demand. For instance, this was the case of Hector and his wife Carla who moved from the coastal city of Machala to Madrid in the year 2001. In Ecuador Carla was a housewife and cared for their three children, but in Spain they both had to work to meet the family's economic needs, in spite of the fact that they recently had a newborn baby. When

interviewing Hector, he illustrated Carla's experiences with paid work as being more complex in comparison to his own:

Here is it has been more difficult and tiring for her because she is not use to working like me - waking up early in the morning, working all day and then coming home tired in the evening. For me it was fine but it took her some time to adjust. (November 2007, America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation (AESCO)⁵⁰ office)

For male participants, on the other hand, paid work outside the home continued to be central for the masculine identity in Ecuador and in Spain, but they also acknowledged that gender ideologies around paid work changed. Studies on Ecuador show that men prefer to maintain a traditional family life with a clear division of roles in the household (male productive/female reproductive), but as pointed out by Chant with Craske (2003) these are never fixed. Most male participants agreed that they were mostly accustomed to women routinely earning less than men in their home and host countries, but with migration they had become dependent on women's earnings due to the high cost to sustain a family in Spain and/or in Ecuador. In the long-run some studies show that the income that women earn may lead to a renegotiation of decision-making in the household or marital conflict (Jones-Correa, 1998; McIlwaine, 2010; Zentgraf, 2002; also see Chapters 6 and 7).

Men and Women's Motivations for Entering Paid Work in Madrid

Studies suggest that migration, along with the differences between men and women in their gender roles and identities, can impact their motivations to join paid work (Fuller 2003). Through fieldwork the general perception among the respondents in the study was that women migrated for the purposes of work for their children, which is viewed as a 'natural' female role, and men migrated to provide for the family as a whole and access better economic opportunities (but for a critique see Laurie *et al*, 1999). Leila, who I met through the Evangelical Church in Madrid, conformed to the notion that women migrated and worked to provide for children. With the help of a close friend in Madrid she travelled from the outskirts of Quito to Spain in the year 2003. She arrived on a Sunday evening and on Monday morning she was already working as a live-in domestic worker, which offered the highest savings capacity. Leila aged 41 left behind four children, aged seven, eleven, fourteen, and nineteen, under the care of her husband, and in retrospect she said, 'When I came I didn't care what sort of work I

⁵⁰ America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation - *América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación* (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish) website: <http://www.ong-aesco.org/> (February 14 2011)

found; I just knew that I needed to work for my children'. Comparably, residential migrant mothers' motivation to work in feminised jobs was also related to childcare. These areas of the labour market were seen as a solution that was flexible enough to allow them to earn money and continue to be responsible for childcare. For instance, Lillian was a full-time housewife in Macas, Ecuador, and initially she did not want to move to Spain for fear of uprooting her three children now aged 10, 8 and 6. After her husband convinced her to join him for help in the labour market, she moved to work as an hourly housecleaner so that she could be available for her children before school and in the evenings. She spent the mornings preparing her children for school and then in the evenings she supervised their school work and then bathed them and prepared dinner. After celebrating a family member's birthday in *Cobeña*, located in the outskirts of Madrid, we had a chance to speak privately while watching her family members play *ecua-volley*⁵¹ in the public park, and Lillian reflected on migrant mothers' motivations to join paid work:

A woman should do domestic work here, maybe because she's forced to do it but also because there are children—you can't abandon your child from the morning until night, can you? (October 12 2007, public park, Cobeña, Madrid)

For Manuela, the fifty-two year-old married woman, although her four children were grown adults with families of their own, the better standing in the labour market and the location of the work place were motivating factors to clean and care for elderly people. Manuela felt it was important to be able to earn an income and be nearby her children so that she could spend her evenings at her son's house preparing dinner and looking after her grandchildren. For men, migration and paid work were jointly tied to professional and economic advancement, as well as the expectation of a better life for their children. On the one hand, the economic factors were constantly stressed through men's roles as providers and protectors, and as a means of subsistence for their families. It did not matter the line of work but that men were able to meet their family's economic needs. Quique, for example, lived in Spain for one year and worked as a domestic worker and cleaner to sustain his mother, wife, and three children in Guaranda, Ecuador. For the fifty-one year-old man it was painful to live apart from his family: 'the most difficult thing I have done in my life' but he had no other option but to live transnationally in order to make ends meet for his family. I also met Cecilio, aged

⁵¹ Ecua-volley is a volleyball variation that is widely played in Ecuador, and is so popular that it is played by migrants in the United States and Europe. Ecua-volley is played with two 3-player teams with a higher net (2.75m - 2.80m) and the use of a soccer ball.

thirty-two, from the city of Guayaquil, at the AESCO⁵² office located in the Madrid neighbourhood of *Nueva Numancia*. During the interview held in the library, he reinforced the notion that men with a family needed 'to work in whatever they could find, and work as hard as they had to, in order to sustain their families'. In his particular case, Cecilio was unmarried but stressed that he held a strong economic commitment towards his family, in particular to his mother living in Madrid, and towards his father and brother back in Ecuador. In a different case, Ramon was a fifty-one year-old married man and father to four children, who moved to Spain after living through a violent work incident. Ramon was a taxi driver in Quito when a customer pointed a gun to his head and robbed him. Although he was physically unharmed he was emotionally distressed and determined to leave the country. Ramon and his wife hastily moved to Spain and left their four children behind. In his own words, 'The only reason I came is monetary, to have work and improve our situation and to get ahead' (*salir adelante*). In a similar case, Ernesto was a twenty-nine year-old married man from the city of Latacunga who also moved to Spain after a work conflict in the flower business. His former boss forced him to work overtime without a monetary compensation and after quitting his job, Ernesto and his wife made the decision to move to Spain. I interviewed Ernesto and his wife Olga in their apartment, and after sharing a typical Ecuadorian meal, he explained that with deteriorating working conditions, 'In Ecuador they do not pay well, I came here to work and provide a better future for my family'. With Ernesto's income as a gardener and Olga's salary from domestic work, they will soon be joined by their two children. Ernesto hopes that bringing his children to Spain will not imply that they will end up doing the same line of work but that that someday they will be educated professionals.

Feminised jobs are known to have adverse affects on male identities, and therefore it was necessary for migrant men to have an additional incentive to join this line of work (Kilkey, 2010; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009; Moya, 2007). First of all, it was important to be perceived as an acceptable line of work among Ecuadorians. When employed in private spaces, the men that worked side-by-side with their spouses were able to portray themselves as a good family man, while for other male domestic workers it was a way to bear the cold winters, or be employed in a safe workplace during irregular legal situations. Contract cleaning was also an acceptable option for men that could not endure the difficulties of construction work (the elderly and ill) and for those that experienced unemployment in other sectors of the economy (for

⁵² America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation - *América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación* (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish) website: <http://www.ong-aesco.org/> (February 14 2011)

example, construction, agriculture, catering and commerce). This follows findings from a recent report that finds that migrant men, concentrated in construction work, are disproportionately impacted by unemployment in Spain (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). From the stance of some women, cleaning jobs were perceived as an acceptable line of work for men. For instance the elderly woman Manuela giggled at the thought of men cleaning for an income but then admitted that she had several male acquaintances and colleagues that did this line of work and exclaimed during the interview: 'It is fine for Ecuadorian men as long as they can earn enough to sustain a family'.

Migrant Worker's Access to Domestic Work and Contract Cleaning

Social and religious networks are key to migrant incorporation in the local job market (Hondagenu-Sotelo, 1994; Levitt, 2003). According to Hondagenu-Sotelo (1992) informal female networks are crucial for recently arrived migrant women to access jobs, and in general 'domestic work is the only employment available for them' (Anderson, 1999, 125). While Ecuadorian kin and friendships usually helped each other by sharing information about job openings, as well as on a variety of issues including housing and education, most respondents agreed that access to domestic work was generally easier for women than men, mainly because of the great demand for female workers. The preference for female workers was confirmed during a focus group by Manolo, a thirty-one year-old man married to Miriam, a live-out domestic worker, who moved to Spain in the middle of the Ecuadorian crisis: 'In Ecuador I was told that it was easier for women to find work in Spain as live-in and for men it was harder' but regardless, Manolo decided to migrate ahead of his wife to safeguard and protect his family after hearing endless accounts of women abandoning spouses and children (also see Chapter 7). Miriam added: 'Here they prefer Ecuadorian women to work as domestic workers and it was harder for him until I arrived a few months later'. In keeping with Miriam and Manolo's experience, 83% of men obtained information and accessed feminised jobs by relying on the informal social ties among Ecuadorian women, mostly wives or a female family member. For instance, Juan José joined his wife Martha in Spain after living for five years apart. Martha narrated the emotional difficulties as 'transnational spouses' and that once they were reunited she helped her husband who was around retirement age find work caring for an elderly man in only a few days.

The employers, Church, and immigrant associations were also highly involved in reproducing the feminisation of the domestic labour market (Andall, 2003; Anderson,

1999; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Cox, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Pratt, 1997; Stiell and England, 1999; Tyner, 1999). Leticia, an employer and Spanish recruiter with several years of experience of working with the Ecuadorian community in Madrid, invited me to participate in activities oriented to female migrant domestic workers, which offered information and advice on legal, psychological, labour, and other issues, as well as activities for recreation. During the interview, Leticia explained:

Employment is definitely easier for women, because in the domestic sector there are possibilities for them to work. If you are a man, for instance, you can take care of an elderly Spanish man. But in general, for men, finding employment is a bit more difficult because employers prefer women. (October 2007, cafe in Madrid)

This was also echoed by a recruiter from a Catholic institution with experience working with a variety of migrant domestic workers over several decades. Sister Esther recalled the early days of her work at the Parish *Religiosas de María Inmaculada*⁵³ when she helped rural Spanish women find paid domestic work. Rural Spanish women would live in the convent and worked as childminders or servants for the families that attended Sunday mass. Over the course of the years, Esther's work changed in that the women that now approached the Church were mostly from developing nations and the number of placements grew exponentially to about sixty per day. The Catholic institution where Sister Esther worked was responsible for placing migrant female domestic workers, offering legal information on migration and the labour market, and training in home economics. When I inquired about placing migrant men, Esther responded that most jobs were still reserved for women but she had the odd request from upper class families looking for a live-in couple or for a male domestic worker for specialised jobs. Also, during an interview with Mercedes⁵⁴, a female Ecuadorian leader at the 'National Federation for Ecuadorian Associations in Spain' (FENADEE)⁵⁵, she explained that the association was established in 1998 to place Ecuadorian migrants in the Spanish labour market, as well as organise transnational politics in Spain (see also Chapter 8). The FENADEE also offered a variety of courses on cooking, domestic work and caring. According to Mercedes there have been a significant number of Ecuadorian men that participated in these courses, and were eventually placed in jobs, but that the sector and activists clearly favour women. For Lilly, a Basque women and leader of the 'National Platform of Associations for

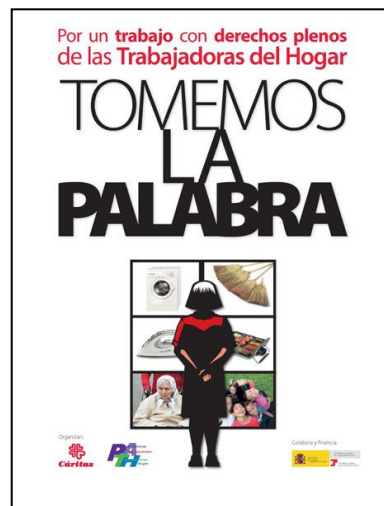
⁵³ Mary Immaculate Parish – Religiosas de la Inmaculada. See also website: [www.religiosasmariainmaculada.org] (October 10 2011)

⁵⁴ Mercedes asked to publish her name, making this the exceptional case of not applying a pseudonym.

⁵⁵ National Federation for Ecuadorian Associations in Spain - *Federación Nacional de Asociaciones de Ecuatorianos en España*. See also website: [www.fenadee.es/] (February 11 2011)

Domestic Workers' (PATH for its acronym in Spanish)⁵⁶, the objective was to work together with migrant workers and associations, Labour Unions, Non-governmental Organisations, Churches, and the state to improve the legal status and working conditions of women in the domestic sector. In 2007 the Platform, and with the support of Caritas of the Catholic Church, launched a nation-wide campaign titled '*Por un trabajo con derechos plenos de las Trabajadoras del Hogar*'⁵⁷ to demand a system of certification and inspection for the professionalisation of the domestic sector (see figure 6.1). When interviewed in a cafe in Madrid and inquired about integrating migrant men into the campaign, Lilly explained that the campaign was not exclusive to women because men share similar working conditions in the sector, but was reluctant given the feminisation of domestic workforce (91% female and 9% male domestic workers).

Figure 6.1: PATH's Campaign Poster to Improve Working Conditions for Domestic Workers



In terms of moving into cleaning jobs, which have a better standing in the labour market, most studies find that it is significant along the lines of ethnicity since 'unqualified Spanish workers and immigrants are competing for the same workplaces' (Colectivo Ioé in Sole and Parella, 2001, 129). The competitive environment was apparent to the respondents, particularly the women. Female respondents thought that in comparison to men they were at a disadvantage in terms of access and job stability. Most men and women obtained contract cleaning jobs with the help of recruitment agencies, newspaper ads, and a few through informal networks. Female participants averaged one year with the current employer, in contrast to men who typically worked

⁵⁶ *Plataforma Estatal de Asociación de trabajadoras de hogar (PATH).*

⁵⁷ The title in Spanish '*Por un trabajo con derechos plenos de las Trabajadoras del Hogar*' is translated as 'Domestic Workers Full Rights':

http://www.caritasalamanca.org/uploads/media/CG_1643_Documento_campana_empleadas_d_e_hogar.pdf

for three years with the same subcontractor. Beatriz, for instance, was fifty-five and over the past six years in Spain she had erratically worked for different employers as a live-in domestic worker. Beatriz considered these difficulties to be related to her age 'Here I can only try to apply to a limited number of cleaning jobs because I am considered old. Most adverts outwardly say 'no applications from woman over the age of 45'.

Generally speaking, women's access to cleaning jobs was limited. In total there were seven women who had managed to move out of domestic work but five returned due to difficulties and challenges of working in contract cleaning in public spaces. This was the case of Judith who left behind two children in Quito to join her parents, sister, and nieces in Spain in the year 2004. She found work providing cleaning services but due to unemployment spells and family responsibilities (taking children to school and childminding her nieces), she returned to the domestic sector (also see Andall, 2003; and Chapter 8 on childcare). While women had preferential access to domestic work, for men, on the other hand, there was the general perception they had better entrance and permanence in contract cleaning. The 'glass ceiling effect' for female cleaner's contrasts findings from London where migrant women and men worked alongside one another but women were clearly favoured, especially for higher qualified positions with equal or better pay (McIlwaine, 2008).

There is vast evidence that the employers create ethnic stereotypes and a hierarchy of desirable nationalities among migrant workers (Anderson, 1999, Cox, 1999, Pratt, 1997, Stiell and England, 1999). In general, employers and recruiters of Ecuadorian domestic workers and cleaners praised men and women as hard workers which was marked by a sexual division of labour and social class. On the one hand, male participants were seen as capable to work for upper-class families or in specialised jobs that required physical strength and special skills (i.e.: heavy cleaners, carers for elderly men, butlers, chauffeurs, chefs, and gardeners). Women, on the other hand, were considered for middle as well as upper-class families and for a wider range of tasks (cleaning, ironing, cooking, caring, etc). Nevertheless, employers and recruiters also presented Ecuadorian workers in a negative light, especially in comparison to other more recently arrived Latin American nationals such as Bolivians and Paraguayans. Ecuadorian nationals were generally identified as being overly interested in achieving quick economic improvement. This was particularly worrisome for some employers and recruitment agencies because in the opinion of a

representative of the placement agency called *Select Hogar*⁵⁸, 'there is a high turnover rate with Ecuadorian men and women because they are always looking for jobs with a higher salaries' in addition to little consideration for other factors such as commitment, congeniality, location, work hours, etc.

Labour Market Trajectories and Occupational Mobility

In Spain, there is a gender differentiation in the economic sectors in which migrants work, with men mainly concentrated in construction (followed by catering) and women primarily in domestic service (followed by catering and commerce) (Colectivo Ióé, 2001). However, when men enter feminine occupations it is generally assumed that they progress more quickly than women to better positions in the labour market (for example Lupton, 2000 on the UK; Williams, 1995 on the US). While valid also for this study on the case of Ecuadorians in Spain, men and women had different mobility patterns, from private domestic jobs to contract cleaning. As noted in previous chapters, to capture the movement in the domestic sector Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) subdivided domestic work into three hierarchical subcategories: *live-in*, *live out* domestic, and *housecleaning*. The majority of female participants followed the occupational ladder as live-in, then live-out, and then as housecleaners. Sister Esther, the recruiter from the Catholic Church, commented on Ecuadorian women's ability to move very quickly within the domestic sector: 'Ecuadorian women are always looking for a better job, higher wage and are concerned with moving up the occupational ladder to live on their own', the latter being related to family reunification. Women followed the domestic occupation ladder and combined housecleaning with contract cleaning to earn additional income, or as a transition to eventually move out of domestic work. This was the case of Magda, a forty-five year-old woman, who worked an average of fifty-hours a week at three jobs: a live-out domestic, housecleaner, and office cleaner. 'I work many hours because I want to get a better income and secure a decent retirement', she explained. For some men, the private-public work arrangement implied exchanging lodging for household services such as car-driving, gardening, and cleaning, while also working in a public space as a way to move into other sectors of the labour market (see Gallo, 2006; Tacoli, 1996). Therefore, the general perception was that male participants had access to a wider range of jobs than women did, and that it was easier for them to move within different sectors of the labour market. In fact, the majority of men interviewed had worked or were still working in the domestic sector

⁵⁸ Select Hogar is a recruitment agency located in Madrid that places male and female domestic workers: <http://www.select-hogar.com/>

and/or contract cleaning, but also had experience working in other sectors of the labour market.

All male participants agreed that mobility in the labour market meant that, due to the competition, they had to struggle more than women with discrimination. Men endured a variety of difficult working conditions and discrimination while doing all manner of work. This is the case of Juan José who was about sixty years old and in the year 2003 followed his wife Martha to Spain. In Ecuador he worked as a construction worker, but in Spain he was too old to be considered for this line of work, so his only options were cleaning offices, caring for an elderly man, or security work. Juan José complained that these were the only lines of work available to him. He described care work as 'the most horrible thing I have had to do in my life' because of their inferior social class position and economic downward mobility. In a different case, during an interview with Joaquin, he explained that in Ecuador he always worked in catering, but in more than seven years of work in Spain he had done many types of work, including construction and cleaning. In his opinion, 'Men are more exploited and sacrificed themselves more than women' (*sacrificado*) mainly because women work inside the comfort of a private home. This was echoed by Fabien, who had experienced working in a variety of sectors of the labour market. He arrived to Spain eight years ago and initially lived 'in doors'⁵⁹ as a domestic worker to save money to sustain his wife and three children in Ecuador. As soon as his wife arrived to Spain, he moved out of the live-in working arrangement and experienced a variety of jobs including contract cleaning and different construction jobs. Fabien's experience in the domestic sector was marked by isolation but in comparison, the construction sector was the most difficult and exploitative line of work. For purposes of contrast, the difficulties of working in the construction sector of the labour market were remarked during the interview with Juan, an Ecuadorian migrant worker and also the gatekeeper in the Evangelical Church. Juan moved to Madrid at the age of thirty to join his mother and four siblings, with the aim to improve his economic opportunities and the intention to start a family of his own. The social and economic downward mobility as a construction worker in Spain had been physically demanding after working as a primary teacher in Macas, Ecuador. During the interview he condemned the construction sector for allowing constant breaches in the health and safety guidelines. Even though there were inspectors visiting the site 'the employer does not care and things have never improved over my eight years, I have seen serious injuries and a near death

⁵⁹ Commonly used term among migrants in reference to the live-in working arrangement

experiences on the site'. These injuries involved migrant workers (Ecuadorian and Bolivian colleagues) and resulted from a lack of safety precautions, proper clothing and equipment (safety glasses, hard hats, steel-toed shoes), and no consideration of the noise, tools, height, lack of training, materials, and substances present at each site (also see below on risk and conflict).

The Gendered Nature of Working Conditions

The exploitive working conditions of domestic and cleaning jobs are an important focus of academic concern (Anderson, 2000; Escrivá, 2000; Lutz, 2008; Parreñas, 2001). Comparably, the biggest complaint from Ecuadorian migrant workers was continuous tiredness and even exhaustion marked by both men and women. They described themselves as 'robots' or 'slaves' of their work. From the questionnaire survey, it was uncovered that men worked longer hours than women. On the one hand, male domestics worked an average of 61 hours whereas women worked 42 hours per week (whether live-in, live-out, or housecleaners). The most problematic working situation was the live-in working arrangement where men worked an average of 86 hours per week, and women 64 hours per week. 'If you do not adore your job, take care of it, and work very hard you will be fired', explained Fabien when he worked as a live-in domestic worker to maintain his family in Ecuador. The long work hours were also pointed out by Gabriel. He moved to Spain in the year 2004, only six months ahead of his wife Sara. After his mother placed a mortgage on her house to finance his trip, Gabriel imagined that he would move to Madrid to secure a job and then request family reunification or quickly return to Ecuador. As in most cases, Gabriel found it difficult to access work and asked Sara to join him to help him out in the labour market. Once in Spain, Sara was responsible for finding them work as live-in domestic workers for a well-off businessman where they worked side-by-side for many years but performed different tasks. Sara was in charge of cleaning the two-story house and ironing clothes while Gabriel did the shopping, organised the household, supervised the other workers, and also served the meals. When interviewing Gabriel he problematised the particularly long work days, given the employers' active social life:

I would have to wake-up at 6am to start the preparations for the party, and I would go to sleep at 8 am the next morning. Sometimes I've worked straight through over 24 hours. I would sleep for a couple of hours and then wake-up again to continue working. (May 17 2007, Local cafe)

For Sara the most difficult aspect of working as a live-in worker was the lack of time to rest on the weekends. On Saturday and Sunday, Sara and Gabriel could not have the day off but had to accompany the employers to their second home in the countryside where they were expected to continue to clean, cook, serve, etc.

An important difference between domestic and cleaning work was that cleaners were significantly relieved of the long work hours. According to the questionnaire survey, men reduced their weekly shift to 45 hours and women to 39 hours per week. To explain the gender differences in the hours worked, they suggested subtle factors. For women, family responsibilities weighed heavily for those that were no longer transnational families, whereas men felt that they needed to work longer hours to receive a higher wage in comparison to women and be more competitive in the labour market (also see Chapter 7).

Unsurprisingly, on the whole, 75% of the migrant workers expressed their general discontent with their monthly income. In comparing wages from the domestic and cleaning jobs with other sectors of the labour market, Camacho (2009) finds that on average these workers earn less, which corresponds to the general devaluation of female work. Contrary to other studies that find that migrant women earn equal or higher wages than men, this study provided evidence of a €140 wage differentials among domestic men and women (see for example, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003; Jones-Correa, 1998; McIlwaine, 2010; Zentgraf, 2002). Female participants earned an average of €590 and men earned significantly more at €730 per month. This is partly because men worked longer hours. However, it is important to point out that live-in male domestics worked an average of 68 hours per week and only earned €650 per month, in comparison to live-in women who earned €900 per month. For instance Quique, a transnational husband and father, worked an average of 18 hours a day as a live-in domestic worker and received €750/month. To the detriment of men's earnings, but in favour to their status, the low earnings were explained because some exchanged lodging and food for household services such as car-driving, gardening, and cleaning (see also Cox, 1999; Gallo, 2006; Tacoli, 1996). Migrant men, in particular, showed more concern about the low wages than women did. This is linked with their social and cultural roles as breadwinners for the survival of themselves and their families, but also to their ambition to quickly improve their economic standing in the labour market. For instance, Jabari, a single man from Southern Ecuador, moved to Spain to 'get ahead' and help out his family still in Ecuador. When working as a domestic worker, he said, 'my main concern was that I earned too little. When I got my papers I wanted to work in

something else to earn more'. Jabari resolved the low wage by combining domestic work with cleaning a restaurant to increase his monthly earnings.

Unsurprisingly, when working in public spaces, the income gap among the male and female participants widened. Men's income rose to over €1000 per month for 45 hours of work whereas women's income lagged behind at €690 per month for 39 hours of work, leaving a €310 income differential. When considering workers' earning capacity, Yoli, a fifty-nine year-old cleaner and carer for a subcontractor, expressed her disappointment with the low salaries in Spain. I met Yoli through Sister Esther, the Catholic recruiter, who had moved to Spain in the year 2002. Yoli's initial plan was to work for a few years and then return to Ecuador with a comfortable retirement but unfortunately her expectations have been hard to meet: 'I wanted to arrive here, work, save money to build myself a house, but it is difficult. When I first arrived life was cheaper, but now everything is expensive and I cannot save anything'.

Professionalising Domestic Work and Contract Cleaning

Work is shaped by gender identities and has different effects on men and women (Anderson, 1999, 2001; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Datta *et al*, 2009; McIlwaine, 2010; Sole and Parella, 2003; Stiell and England, 1999). Domestic work was considered to be 'natural' for women, whereas for men, they added value to their responsibilities by professionalising the tasks. A common response from migrant women was 'I do everything,' which is similar to Colombo's findings on Italy titled "They call me a housekeeper, but I do everything" (2007, 207). Migrant women were primarily responsible for multiple tasks including cleaning, ironing, cooking, and caring for children and elderly. In comparison to domestic work, female contract cleaners had clearly defined tasks and responsibilities, but never positions of authority (but see McIlwaine, 2008 on London). In Williams' study on men who do women's work in the US, the author argues that 'the division of labour favours men, with men occupying the best paying and the highest positions of the organizational power' (1995, 10). In a similar line, Ecuadorian male participants specialised as gardeners, cleaners, and carers (also see Moya, 2007). Tasks could range from supervising colleagues, heavy cleaning (windows, pools, garages, offices, factories, etc), gardening, and caring for elderly Spanish men. When men provided contract cleaning services they reinforced the notion that their work was men's work, describing it as tough and requiring physical strength. This was summarized by Joaquin, a single man from Quito who cleaned at the Barajas airport of Madrid. I met Joaquin at the AESCO offices, and during our

interview at the local café he distanced himself from any female aspects of his job: 'My work is just for men, and it's a man's job' he repeated a few times. In a similar case, Cecilio, the young single man living with his mother in Madrid, worked as a cleaner on public transport and denied any association with female aspects of work: 'I like to do macho work, not girly work. If I am going to work, I am going to do something for machos'.

Gender Differences in the Work Place

Feminist scholarship has played a key role in questioning labels and traditional binary categories such as the public-private work spaces. Studies acknowledge that the feminine private and the masculine public remain valid but there are also overlaps between private-public dichotomies since they are considered 'co-related and interpenetrative' (Yeoh and Huang, 1998, 583; Lan, 2003; Lyon and Glucksmann, 2008). In this study, on the one hand, 61% women worked in isolation, in comparison to only 20% men. It is important to highlight here that the women's 'fully-private' spaces of work were more problematic. For Naeva and Yuda, both widowers and transnational mothers, isolation was most accentuated in the live-in domestic arrangement which they described as a 'prison'. In both cases, their feelings of seclusion, combined with the geographic distance from their family, led to serious mental health problems. Naeva moved to Spain in the year 2000 to provide for her children after her husband's sudden death. When we met, Naeva was recuperating from a nervous breakdown after communication collapsed with her four children living in Ecuador (see Chapter 6). Yuda was from a small town in the Andes' Southern highlands, and left her two children behind in her unfinished home under the supervision of her mother, who lived nearby. After her husband was killed in Ecuador, Yuda moved to Spain in order to give her children an education and finish building their home. Her life and work in Spain was marked by loneliness and recently she was diagnosed with severe case of anaemia because, in her words, 'the distance with my children made me lose my appetite'. Men, on the other hand, highlighted how solitude in the 'semi-private' domestic spaces was a 'choice' and stressed their spatial mobility within and outside the home as a way to distance themselves from female spaces. Jabari, the single man from Southern Ecuador, for example, did not have a problem working in 'semi-private' domestic spaces because 'It is good and calm and I am able to be alone. When I'm alone I'm alone, but then I can go inside and talk'. Male domestics usually worked outside in the garden, driving in the city, or visiting the local shops for food supplies. Ramon, who moved to Spain after the incident as a taxi

driver, found work with his wife as live-in domestic workers for a wealthy Spanish family. During an interview with Ramon at the Evangelical church he described how his job spanned across spaces:

In the morning I would wake-up to buy the newspaper and bread. Then I would put on my suit to leave him [employer] at his work, then his children and school and the University, and then take her [employer] to do the shopping. Then I return home, change my clothes, and clean the pool, help clean the house. I barely finish that and the phone rings and I have to put my suit on again and drive. The eventful day extended until night time. Since they [employers] are people of very high status, they always had social commitments. After dinner I would drop them off and wait in the car until they finished. (May 2007, Evangelical Church)

When men moved in 'fully-private' spaces it was rationalised in the form of 'help'. This is the case of Sara and Gabriel who worked side-by-side as domestic workers, and in the words of Sara when interviewed in their rented flat:

If he had to clean outside the house he did it and then he would come inside to *help* me after he finished his tasks because it was a large house; just the employer's bedroom was the size of this flat, and I also had to clean the bathrooms, changing rooms, lamps; so, when he finished doing his things, he came upstairs and helped me clean the attic, Hoover, and do the things that were heavy ... (May 2007, private accommodation)

The private-public combination was also relevant to jobs carried out in public spaces. In London's low paid labour market, Evans *et al* (2005) find that migrant women typically work in 'semi-private' spaces and men are more likely to work in 'semi-public' spaces. Correspondingly, migrant Ecuadorian women were often concentrated in cleaning 'semi-private' spaces such as in hotels as chambermaids or as cleaners in small businesses, whereas men were more likely to work in 'semi-public' spaces such as cleaning in offices, on public transportation, and in streets and parks in the city. In performing cleaning tasks, once more men stressed the masculine spaces of the workplace as a way to distance themselves from its feminising effects. Joaquin, the cleaner in the *Barajas* airport, showed his approval towards the gender segregation:

A woman cannot be next to one because there are a lot of men. There are seven girls and there can be contact, or we can fancy each other, and the subcontractor wants to avoid this. (October 2007, local cafe)

Although cleaning was considered a female job, the feminine identity of domesticity was contradicted by working in public spaces. To this effect, Manuela, who worked in a retirement home, had cleaning tasks (floors, bathrooms, kitchens, etc) which were

combined with caring for the patients—a masculine element of work. Manuela explained the difficulty of managing the less feminine elements of the work:

It is more of a sacrifice [compared to working as a domestic] because I have to take the women to the toilet and since they cannot move on their own, I have to pick them up from their wheelchairs and carry them, then I have to put on a diaper and hold them ... it is very difficult work. (8 May 2007, hospital)

Nevertheless, Manuela, an elderly woman herself, was motivated to continue in this line of work because of the possibility to work near her children and also obtain the advantages of having a better standing in the labour market:

Working as a cleaner and carer I get paid more money between €835-850 plus bonus payments. If one falls ill the doctor will give you a medical leave and it's paid for by the subcontractor. Working in a house is not the same because if you fall ill you go home and that is it, you're not paid. (8 May 2007, hospital)

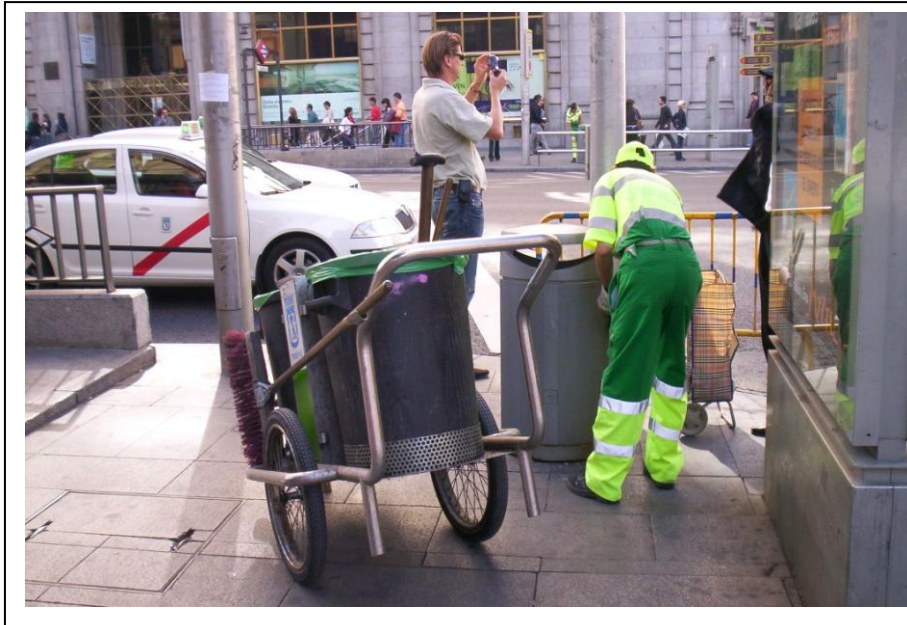
In a similar case, Amalia, only twenty years old, moved to Spain in the year 1998 with the aim to work and study. Unfortunately her dream to go to the University was overshadowed by the urgency to sustain herself and provide economically for her mother in Puyo, Ecuador. The social and occupational downward mobility as a live-in domestic worker was marked after working as a salesperson in Ecuador. After seven years of domestic work, Amalia moved into a cleaning job at a chain supermarket which required cleaning skills as well as physical strength, a manly task, but she considered it was worth the effort given the better pay, the presence of colleagues from different nationalities (Nigeria, Peru, Colombia, Morocco, and Romania), a relaxed relationship with the employer, and the possibility to buy her own home with her Peruvian husband in Spain.

For women carrying out jobs in public spaces, which challenges hegemonic notions of women rooted to the private sphere of the home, they emphasised their own prowess as female cleaners. This is most likely because of the difficulties of accessing and staying in jobs carried out in public spaces. Emanuela, for example, lived and worked in the Evangelical temple with her seventeen year-old son. She divided her day by working from 9-2 as a housecleaner and then during the afternoons and evenings she worked with her son in the Church. When asked about her son's cleaning ability, Emanuela quickly pointed out her authority over her son, and men in general:

I like to clean the bathrooms to do it how I like it. I like to do a very good job because a man cannot do some things, they are not as detail-oriented like a woman, I am very detail-oriented and I love cleaning. (May, 2007, Evangelical Church)

In contrast, when male cleaners moved into the feminised 'semi-private' spaces they rationalised it as a form of 'help' (see also Datta et al, 2009). Hector, married to Carla and residential father to four children, worked as a street cleaner and had a number of female colleagues. All contract cleaners were required to wear what Hector considered a masculine uniform (a yellow hat and shirt and green pants). Each person was assigned an area, a steel, mobile rubbish bin (or wheelie bin) and a time and location to meet the rubbish collector truck (see plates 6.2 and 6.3). According to Hector, the male cleaners were assigned the busiest streets with the most rubbish to collect, while women worked in more secluded and easygoing areas. During Hector's interview at the AESCO office he emphasised that this was planned by the supervisor because of a gender division of spaces and tasks. In his perception, women found it more difficult than men to collect large amounts of heavy rubbish. Nevertheless, Hector showed his solidarity with the female colleagues: 'In terms of heavy tasks, we [men] go to where they [women] are to do what they cannot manage'. In this way, male cleaners upgraded their work by stressing the dual work load as a form of help to also stay in good, yet superior, standing with their female counterparts.

Plate 6.2: Male Contract cleaner with Bin in Madrid City Centre



Source: Photo taken by author

Plate 6.3: Male Contract Cleaner and Rubbish Collector Truck in Madrid City Centre



Source: Photo taken by author

Negotiating Gender Relations with Colleagues

Given that men and women worked, and in some cases, lived, on a daily basis with various people of different nationalities, it is important to consider how gender identities around work can be 'constructed or reinforced in relation to others' (McIlwaine *et al.*, 2006, 18). When concerned with colleagues, men and women drew on a dual discourse where they stressed the positive aspects of working with a large multicultural staff in the same home. For example, Sara and her husband Gabriel worked for a very wealthy Spanish businessman, alongside nine other members of service staff from a variety of nationalities including Ecuador, Portugal, Philippines, and Spain. Sara explained that they would get together to eat lunch and take a break in the evenings: 'Everything was fun, we would all laugh, we all got along well, make jokes, and that'. However, there were contradictions with the discourse of non-problematic co-workers. An especially difficult situation for female domestic workers was the creation of emotional attachments with a co-worker of the opposite sex. When Emanuela, a single woman who later moved to live and clean the Evangelical Church, first arrived to Spain she worked as a live-in domestic for a Spanish aristocrat. Her experience with an Ecuadorian male colleague was particularly difficult: 'There was danger because there was this man who was the chauffeur and he was keen on me'. She explained the emotional distress of having him flirt with her while under the close supervision of the employer. Eventually, Emanuela was under so much pressure that she had to leave her job. 'I wanted to avoid those things [romance] because I could have fallen for him because when you're lonely and you have no one to count on, on any given moment you get desperate'.

In addition, migrants competed against each other in the domestic sector, which created problems with workers of other migrant nationalities (see also Wills *et al.*, 2010 on London). At some point, most men experienced humiliation, fibs, and verbal abuse from colleagues. When Gabriel was promoted as butler of the household he encountered hostility from his female Spanish co-workers because 'a Spaniard does not like to be bossed around by a twenty-one year-old Ecuadorian'. In a more extreme case, Ramon, the male live-in domestic worker, was falsely accused of theft by his female Portuguese co-worker, which in consequence led to him to be temporarily laid-off. Domestic men endured difficult working relations with their colleagues but countered these representations by stressing that they were better workers than all women (migrant and non-migrant). In the above case of Ramon, who was accused of

stealing the employer's watch, he defended himself: 'My colleague was jealous of me because I was the favourite and they [employers] treated me better than a woman'.

Migrant women, on the other hand, experienced most hardship with native-born colleagues. Sara illustrated how difficult it was for her as a migrant to work side-by-side a Spanish woman:

The Spanish do not want you to get ahead (*superarse*), they can be your friend, but they do not want you to be better in any aspect. For example the Spanish cook would go and tell the other girls [colleagues] and male employer that I do not clean, or do this, or that. (May 2007, private accommodation)

Such were the hardships associated with Spanish women; in a focus group three women spoke poorly of them (Miriam, Leila, and Magda). Leila, the transnational mother and wife, and Miriam, a forty-five year-old divorced mother and a private-public worker, agreed that Ecuadorians portrayed themselves as having a superior femininity characterised by being hard-working and compliant:

Magda: They [Spanish] say that we come to take away their jobs.

Leila: It's that they [Spaniards] do not want to work, a Spanish woman will not work as a live-in maid.

Magda: I have Spanish colleagues that are always complaining, they want to be paid more but work less. They do not work well and they are always complaining.

Leila: If one [migrant] complains, then they'll lay you off for being a migrant. But then a Spaniard cannot be laid off for complaining.
(October 6 2007, local cafe)

Chang (2000) in relation to the US shows evidence of the hardship among migrants and how they present their own ethnic communities using negative stereotypes. Comparable to the Ecuadorian case in Spain, cleaning jobs were more competitive, which intensified the negative collegial relationships among Ecuadorians (*paisanos*). Yoli, the elderly female cleaner and carer who had planned to work in Spain for only a few years to secure a comfortable retirement in Ecuador, illustrated:

We Ecuadorians in Madrid do not help one another. There was an Ecuadorian woman that made my life impossible, she would not let me work in peace until I finally quit. (June 23 2007, Parish *Religiosas de María Inmaculada*)

In a similar case, Diego first moved to Spain in 1998 to provide for his mother and grandmother. Over the course of nine years in Spain, however, his economic aspirations to help his family in Ecuador have become more modest. This was partly

because of the low wage from his job as a dishwasher and cleaner in a restaurant and also because of his economic responsibilities as a residential father and husband. Diego, who had also worked as a cleaner, cook, and waiter, pessimistically echoed the negative stereotypes when working with an Ecuadorian colleague:

Beware more of an Ecuadorian than of a Spaniard! This is a concrete jungle to survive, to work and not to be thrown out of the country. If an Ecuadorian has to step over another Ecuadorian to get up the ladder, he will do it! It is a jungle. (October 10 2007, local cafe)

Joaquin, the male cleaner at Barajas airport, spoke poorly of his *paisanos*:

Joaquin: When Ecuadorians position themselves into good jobs they humiliate, treat one another poorly, I do not like it, I do not like to be mistreated.

Cristen: Is it harder to work among Ecuadorians?

Joaquin: I do not like to speak with people of my own country, less work with them. They make everything into a joke, nicknames, they are immature, I do not like it.

Cristen: That does not make for a good work environment.

Joaquin: It is horrible. Working with a *paisano*, is impossible.

(October 2007, local cafe)

In general, Ecuadorian contract cleaners distanced themselves from workers of their same nationality. Yet male participants presented a positive image of themselves towards male colleagues of other nationalities. This was the case for Pedro, who moved from Southern Ecuador to join his mother in Spain in the year 2001. His mother arrived two years earlier to work as a domestic worker and upon his arrival she helped him find work as a cleaner, although he was a carpenter in Ecuador. He later found work as a cleaner on a construction site, which widened the range of jobs available to him. He also had experience with painting and renovation. Pedro had a positive experience when working with men from different nationalities: 'I worked for two years only with Spaniards in the contract cleaning sector and it was wonderful!' And Hector, the male street cleaner, exemplified the cultural learning experiences when working with colleagues of a variety of nationalities: 'My co-workers take a MP3 to play their music, and over lunch we share our different food - the Bulgarians eat ham and we eat rice with chicken, each country with their differences'.

The Gendered Nature of the Employer-Employee Relationships

In research on gender and migration, Chapter 2 illustrated the problematic inequalities among the female domestic worker and the female employer through concepts such as

status, maternalism, part of the family, hierarchy of preference, and stereotyping (Anderson 2001, 2001a, 2003; Catarino and Oso, 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003 on the US; Sole and Parella, 2003; Stiell and England, 1997, 1999 on Canada). According to Stiell and England, live-in domestic workers in Toronto maintain at least one of these specific forms of a relationship with their employer where 'the articulation of systems of difference led to a range of experiences of asymmetry in the employer-employee power relations' (1997, 339; but also see Momsen, 1999 on negotiation). In the case of Ecuadorians in Spain, Naeva, the forty-one year-old widower and transnational mother to four children, arrived in Spain in the year 2000 and had only one job as a live-in worker for a young couple with a newborn baby. While interviewing her in a private home during a social activity, Naeva epitomised the discourses of *part of a family* and *maternalism*:

I have worked for them for many years and they consider me part of the family. They [employers] say that if something ought to happen to me they will answer for me...they are always concerned about me. (October 12 2007, private accommodation)

In addition, Naeva stated that her employers offered legal advice in the form of maternalism, especially when she was in an irregular situation. During the initial four years in Spain, Naeva feared that she would be deported if she left the employers' home. As a result, she spent most of her time in the constraint of the employers' home working very long hours and disconnected from the Ecuadorian community and wider society:

When I did not have my papers they [employers] would advice me not to go out and gather with people [of same nationality] because it can call attention and that of the police. (October 12 2007, private accommodation)

Following the working typology, in the US-based study Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) found that female employers do not always act maternally towards their Latin-American migrant housecleaners but rather go to great lengths to minimise personal interactions because of their increased responsibilities with career and family life, as well as general discomfort with domestic servitude. In Spain, this was somewhat relevant. For example, Emanuela started her work day at 9 am cleaning a house, washing clothes, and ironing. Emanuela said that she had very little interaction with the female employer: 'With the madam I hardly have any relationship because of time; she is hardly home and when she arrives at 12:30 she spends time with her children'. While minimising a personal relationship can do more to exacerbate inequality by denying

them social recognition and appreciation for their work, some migrant women emphasised the positive aspects of this interaction. Lilian, married and a mother to three children, expressed pride in being trusted to independently organise her weekly schedule with six different female employers: 'I have the keys to all houses and I go to work when it suits my family schedule'.

Although Anderson finds that 'the employer-employee relationship in Spain is based on paternalism' (1999, 118) and that there are 57,200 Spanish men that employ domestic workers (in comparison to 697.300 Spanish women), little is known about the male employer-employee relationship (INE, 2008). According to the male respondents, paternalism was manifested through accounts of Spanish male employers giving away used clothes, offering advice, help or guidance as a form of charity. For instance, when Gabriel first arrived to Spain he recalled that the employer went through his son's closet to separate old clothes for him to use. Gabriel recalled feeling both embarrassed and humiliated to work in second hand clothes that were not even his same size. Paternalism is very similar to findings on the notion of maternalism, which is represented as 'an important mechanism of employer power' to reinforce inequalities among them and encourage migrant domestic workers to work harder (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001, 11). Ramon, for example, explained that he spent many hours driving his employers through Madrid and he didn't mind working harder to earn a better standing, particularly with the male employer: 'The boss liked me very much because I did not work 100% but 200% to earn his love, he liked me very much'. In a similar situation, Sara spoke about her husband Gabriel:

He was the server whenever there were parties, since he was trusted by him [employer], he had to be there. Yes, he had to be there because of the trust, and he had to endure all the difficulties [long work hours and constantly being on call]. (May 2007, private accommodation)

Moreover, a significant finding from this study was that the employer-employee relationship was also based on *moral debt*. The concept of *moral debt* was identified when both men and women endured difficulties throughout the regularisation process and continued to withstand the exploitive working situation even after obtaining a legal status. Moral debt is understood as being encouraged to work harder and withstand difficult working conditions in exchange for the employer's support, a work contract, and regular legal status. Surprisingly, after obtaining papers, some migrant workers continued to withstand difficult working conditions out of gratefulness towards their employers. This was the case of Leila, a transnational mother and wife, who spoke of

the ambiguity when trying to decide whether to leave her current job: 'I do think of changing jobs but at the same time I have been there for five years, maybe I will not adapt to another job...I have been working in this [domestic work] since the beginning and they regularised my documentation'. In a different case, Naeva continued to work for her employers regardless of her experience of deceit from the employers:

Naeva: My papers were denied because I trusted them (*confiada*). I let my bosses submit my application because of my lack of knowledge, and I did not know what they were doing, or not doing. I let them do my application and of course, people started commenting that maybe they did not even submit my application and criticised me for not doubting them.

C: Do you think that is true?

Naeva: I do not know. I only got my papers during the past regularisation, after four years of working with them.

C: Do you think your employers did not submit your application the first time?

Naeva: I trusted them too much because they are good people, [employers:] 'don't worry we will help you so you can have your papers and bring your children'. I have been going through difficult times thinking of my children. She [employer] would say: 'that is because you think too much. We will submit your application the times that are necessary until you get them [papers]'. A friend of mine told me that when they submit your application you get a receipt notice, I never got one. In that sense I was innocent.

C: Why did you not have information on the regularisation process?

Naeva: I do not speak with anyone, I am shy. I didn't understand anything. In hindsight, maybe I was cheated.

C: How do you feel about that?

Naeva: Like all human beings, at the beginning I felt cheated, many times I have left things in the hands of God, I cannot do anything or judge anyone. I did not try to investigate. If I had any evidence I would have the courage to say something [to employers]. Since I don't, I left it at that.

(October 12 2007, private accommodation)

In comparison to working for a female employer, the experiences of migrant women working for a male employer were different. Migrant women considered themselves as 'experts' and appreciated it when unmarried male employers gave them freedom to do their jobs. 'Well, he knows how I work, he never says do this or do that, he is always very open with me, and I feel very happy', explained Emanuela when cleaning the Church for the Pastor. It was also found that women drew on their femininity when working for an unmarried male employer by taking charge as the woman of the house. When I surveyed Ariana she illustrated this case:

He [male employer] does not know what needs to be done, so I manage the house...but I started to have problems when his girlfriend moved in. She was unhappy with my work and started telling me to do this, and that. (November 2007, local cafe)

Unfortunately, in an extreme case, there was the potential for single male employer to sexually take advantage of a female migrant worker. This was the case for Ramona. Ramona was a thirty-two year-old woman who joined her former husband in Spain in the year 1998, after leaving their one-year-old daughter under the care of her elderly sister in the city of Ibarra. Ramona explained that during the first year in Spain she was extremely depressed from living apart from her daughter and feared to go out of the house and find work because of her irregular legal situation. She became increasingly dependent on her husband but he drifted away and became more and more resentful towards her. They ended their marriage that same year, being one of the exceptional cases of spousal breakdown in this group sample, and then Ramona moved on to care and live with an elderly Spanish woman. During that time Ramona acquired Spanish nationality and brought her daughter to live in Madrid. After the elderly woman passed away, Ramona was left without a job. She was told about a job opening as a live-in worker for a single Spanish man. When at the job for only 2 days, she was a victim of sexual abuse:

He was a man who wanted a woman to do everything [domestic chores], and also be his lover...he was a single man who was looking for a live-in worker and he said 'You are the person I want because you have a daughter and you will be comfortable here'. (November 2007, private accommodation)

Ramona went to the police to file charges against the male employer and then scheduled an appointment in the hospital for medical and psychological examinations. In comparison to the sending country, Ramona said she felt more protected under the Spanish law, but in the long-run the state was inefficient to protect her rights because she never heard back from the police, social worker, or from the hospital. In her own words: 'I went to the hospital to get tests done but they did not pay attention to me; they told me to wait for six months and I never heard back' (see more in Chapter 7; for similar situations see Jureidini and Moukarbel, 2004 on Lebanon; but also see McIlwaine, 2008 on London).

Gender Identities in the Employer-Employee Relationship

Male and female participants related differently with employers along the lines of gender and social class. On the one hand, and in most cases, female domestics constructed their gender identity counter to their Spanish female employer by expressing their femininity. This was exemplified by Sara, who over-emphasised the positive aspects of her own womanhood, in comparison to her Spanish female employer.

She [employer] did not know how to administrate [the home], she was not a madam, she did not know how to cook, sometimes she contradicted her husband, she gave one order and he would give another...she would manage the house but like I said she was not a madam and did not know how to get organised. (May 2007, private accommodation)

On the other hand, a recent study on Italy found that migrant male domestics associate themselves with the employer's social status and class (Gallo, 2006). In doing so, male migrants are delegated the responsibility to uphold the male status within the home. In this vein, Sara's husband Gabriel proudly said that when he was promoted by the male employer, 'He [male employer] offered me the highest position in the house and said: 'I want you to be my butler, I want you to organise my house, I want to forget about my house, and you have to organise it for me'. In another case, Ramon recognised his subordinate role through his position as a male migrant. 'Here I receive orders, I am in a different country and I have to do it.' At the same time, Ramon strategically positioned himself as his employer's confident:

We have a very good relationship, he [employer] trusts me a lot. He tells me about his wife and children...to tell me those things he had to trust me...we spend a lot of time together and he tells me everything...there is keenness, he treats be better and gives me things. (May 2007, Evangelical Church)

While relieved of the personal employer-employee relationship present in domestic work, migrant contract cleaners were not much better off. Both male and female migrants competed against unskilled Spanish workers, which offset discrimination or exploitative practices among *paisanos* in the labour market. Similar to London, a common finding was that the employer-employee relationship was further intensified when managed or supervised by migrants of the same gender and/or nationality (Cox, 2006; Wills *et al.*, 2010). In the case of a gardener in public parks, Ernesto, who moved to Spain after a problem in the flower industry in Ecuador, explained:

My boss was Ecuadorian and he wanted me to work harder and I worked 12 hours a day. He initially told me to work 8-5 pm but it was never like that, it was 8-8 pm. He had a good income and only paid me half my earnings. (October 2007, Private accommodation)

Although modest, in comparison to women, men showed some ability to counter exploitation when working in the contract cleaning sector. Similar to domestic work, some men positioned themselves close to the male employer because of the expectation of improving their labour market standing. Joaquin, the cleaner at the airport, associated himself with his boss because of the possibility to return to Ecuador with a job:

He [employer] is married to an Ecuadorian woman and wants to put a cleaning service in Ecuador. Sometimes he puts me in a bad mood, and sometimes I put him in a bad mood, but it ends up in nothing, it's the respect towards the boss. (October 2007, local cafe)

Labour Organising: the Role of Trade Unions

To defend workers labour rights, on Labour Day (May 1, 2007) there were various manifestations from the different trade unions (C.N.T.⁶⁰, U.G.T.⁶¹, U.C.E.⁶², U.J.C.E.⁶³, and CC.OO.) (see plates 6.4-6.7). After attending the protest, a meeting, and during an interview with a representative of the UGT, the federation of all trade unions in Spain, the main concern in relation to migrant workers was the difficulty to approach, affiliate, and mobilise them. This was also noted by all Ecuadorian migrants that explained that during moments of trouble or conflict it was difficult to negotiate problems with their employers. For this reason, many of the participants preferred not to confront their employers or discuss problems with them. For instance, Lara is an hourly cleaner and cares for a baby, as well as for her four children that live with her mother near Guayaquil, Ecuador. Lara worked for six years for an employer but was preoccupied with the low-income, her ambivalent legal status and lack of access to social security. When asked about speaking of these issues with her employers she responded:

⁶⁰ C.N.T. is the Spanish acronym for the trade union: *Confederación Nacional de Trabajo* – National Confederation for Work

⁶¹ U.G.T. is the Spanish acronym for the federation of all Spanish trade unions: *Union General de Trabajadores de España* – General Union for Workers of Spain

⁶² U.C.E. is the Spanish acronym for the *Unión Comunista de España* - Communist Union of Spain

⁶³ U.J.C.E. is the Spanish acronym for the *Unión Juventudes Comunistas de España* – Young Communist Union of Spain

I cannot! I already know what the answer will be, they will say that 'we did not agree on these issues and that if I am not happy you can find a different job'. It does not make any sense to speak with them about something that you already know the answer to. (June 1 2007, public park)

Rather, Lara was thinking about changing jobs to avoid confrontation. In contract cleaning, the general perception was that the better standing in the labour market meant that workers were relieved of the intense employer-employee relationship and had more access to some labour rights. Contrary to findings from the United Workers' Association (UWA), a migrant group based in London, which successfully campaigned for improvement in immigration rules, this study shows little evidence of labour organisation (also see Anderson, 2001 on London). Although exploitive working conditions were marked by most migrants, in this study, only the exceptional case of Fabien was noted, who approached a trade union to charge breaches in labour rights when working in construction:

My work was very difficult, I worked a year and three months, and they did not give me my bonus payments. I earned between €1000-1100 on a monthly basis, working from 8 am-8 pm, and sometimes until 10 or 11 pm. Since we were migrants we were scared to report this because we would be laid-off. It was me who reported it because I was on the metro and met a man from CC.OO.⁶⁴ [trade union] and he said 'they are taking advantage of you, why don't you report it?' I went to my colleagues but no one supported me. (October 2007, Centro Hispano-ecuatoriano offices)

In this specific case, Fabien's affiliation with the labour union further intensified exploitative practices that happened every day at the workplace. He was isolated from his colleagues and had to endure even more difficulties from the employer. The difficulties escalated to a point that his supervisor told one of his colleagues: 'If I find Fabien on the street, I'll run him over with my car'. Disappointed with his work experience, Fabien moved out of construction work and experienced a variety of jobs including contract cleaning. During the interview with the representative of U.G.T., she was aware that it was not unusual for migrant workers to be exploited and threatened but said that,

Most resolve their own problems by simply leaving their job and finding something else. That doesn't necessarily mean that they will be better at the next job or that they are resolving the central problem of the informality with domestic and cleaning jobs. (October 5 2007, Offices of the General Union for Workers of Spain)

⁶⁴ CC.OO. is the Spanish acronym for the trade union: *Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras*- Confederation Union of Working Commissions

The representative of UGT, as well as leaders at the other trade unions, recognised that over time Ecuadorians will organise and affiliate with the labour unions, but that in the meantime they needed to campaign with information of labour rights, identify employers (in private homes for domestic workers and with subcontractors in the case of cleaners), and unite to sensitise both the employers and migrant workers.

Plate 6.4: CNT's Poster to Organise Workers on Labour Day



Source: Photo taken by author on May 1 2007

Plate 6.5: CC.OO. and U.G.T.'s Labour Day Manifestation to Improve Working Conditions



Source: Photo taken by author on May 1 2007 and translated as 'For equality and quality work'

Plate 6.6: U.C.E.'s Labour Day Manifestation to Unite Foreigners and Spaniards



Source: Photo taken by author on May 1 2007 and translated as: 'Madrileño. Catalan, Basque ... Spanish or foreigner, one same working class'

Plate 6.7: U.J.C.E.'s Labour Day Manifestation to Visibilise Migrant Women's Exploitation



Source: Photo taken by author on May 1 2007 and translated as: 'Young, female, immigrants ... double revolution'

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that both migrant men and women were broadly undervalued when carrying out domestic and contract cleaning jobs in Madrid. They both experienced downward social and occupational mobility, exploitative and unregulated

working conditions, dependency on the employer for securing legal status which reinforced a moral debt, lack of employment rights and organisation, deskilling, and limited opportunities for upward mobility into a wider range of work possibilities.

This chapter suggests that migrant gender identities reinforced a gender division of paid labour. Findings indicated that on the one hand, migrant women had greater access to domestic employment, which is significant for some in relation to accessing higher paid work in comparison to Ecuador, but they were actually in a more disadvantaged position than men since they received lower wages and had a limited range of jobs available to them. Men, in contrast, professionalised their jobs in ways which translated into longer working hours but, in the long-run, opened more opportunities for moving beyond domestic work and diversifying or improving their labour market standing in contract cleaning or other areas of the labour market. In comparison, once migrant men secured a solid position in the labour market their conditions of work tended to be slightly better than for migrant women.

At the workplace, migrant gender identities were also contested. In comparison to the country of origin, migrant women's femininities were related to being a housewife or accessing feminised jobs in the labour market. Migrant women's access to domestic work and contract cleaning, work that was characterised as low-skill, low-paid and low-value, had several results. On the one hand, Ecuadorian women drew on their femininity to distance themselves from their colleagues and employers, to position themselves as superior workers through their various skills (to clean, cook, iron, and care). Valorising their work through their femininity, on the other hand, acted as a buffer against difficulties in relation to wages, workers of other nationalities, and more 'privileged' women and men. However, the creation of a niche limited their access to a wider range of sectors of the labour market, much to their detriment. Migrant men incorporated into a feminised line of work negotiated with women to access domestic jobs, but once in this line of work, they validated their hegemonic masculinities. Men created occupational segregation by appropriating tasks and spaces labelled 'masculine' to legitimise their presence in these fields and to pursue higher pay and status. Also, men reinforced gender hierarchies by attaching themselves to the male employers' social status, and to their male colleagues from different nationalities, to position themselves as superior workers in the labour market.

CHAPTER 7

The Construction of Transnational Families: Experiences in Spain and Ecuador

There is significant research on the emergence of the transnational family globally (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas 2000, 2001; Yeates, 2004, 2005). In the European context, evidence suggests that newly arrived Latin American migrant workers maintain strong family ties through social and economic transnational activities (Datta *et al*, 2007; McIlwaine, 2005). When considering both migrant male and female workers, studies suggest that they maintain different forms of ties in the 'private' transnational spaces (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Goldring, 2001; Jones-Correa, 1998; Mahler and Pessar, 2006). On the one hand, it is widely acknowledged that migrant women maintain strong family links through 'transnational motherhood', which refers to a migrant mother who works in a foreign country and whose children are raised in another (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). The notion of transnational fatherhood, however, remains largely neglected (but see Gallo, 2006; Pribilsky, 2004; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). This is partly because research on transnational migration shows that men are more involved in maintaining 'public' linkages with their countries of origin, in an attempt to protect their social status and privileges within their community, and also because research tends to revolve around 'deficit' masculinities in relation to issues such as family desertion and failure to take on reproductive responsibilities (Datta *et al*, 2009).

This chapter sets out to explore the role of migrant male and female worker's transnational family ties by drawing on the survey, as well as interviews and participant observation undertaken in Madrid and in Ecuador. In addition to the interviews undertaken in Madrid, 11 interviews were carried out with transnational families in Ecuador. Of the latter, 4 interviews were held with nuclear transnational households and 7 interviews with extended transnational households. A variety of households arrangements, composed mainly of grandparents, parents, parents-in-law, siblings, husband, wife, child, and nephews, were examined across the cities of Quito, Ibarra, and Macas (see Chapter 4 for a profile).

The findings from this chapter suggest that current conceptualisations on the gendered nature of 'private' transnational such as transnational motherhood, that focus solely on the linkages between migrant women and their children in the country of origin, requires rethinking along several lines. First, the construction of the transnational family is not confined to transnational mothers and their children, but often a range of other family members in both the countries of origin and destination. In particular, it is important to recognise the role of the conjugal partners and transnational fathers, who provide economically and who also experience emotional trauma due to separation from families, and non-migrant women who are largely responsible for caring for the children 'left behind' (see also Salazar Parreñas, 2003; Schmalzbauer, 2004).

Decision-making Processes behind the Formation of Transnational Families

Research on the construction of transnational families suggest that leaving a wife behind is more socially acceptable for men, while women are more likely to be seen to have transgressed their roles as wives which required them to stay with their family (Herrera, 2002; Gallo, 2006; Pribilsky, 2004; Salazar Parreñas, 2002). In this study, transnational conjugality, or spouses living from afar, was crucial in the migratory process and was characterised by a short period of separation. In the case of Manolo, for example, he was a thirty-one year old married man with two daughters. He decided to migrate to Spain ahead of his wife Miriam to preserve the marital unit after hearing accounts of migrant women abandoning spouses and children if they migrated first:

I preferred to come first, to be the one to suffer. I did not want my wife to come first because I am jealous with her ... I heard stories of women coming to Spain, finding another partner, and then leaving their husbands behind in Ecuador. (October 2007, local cafe)

In a different case, but for similar reasons, Ernesto, a twenty-nine year-old married man from the city of Latacunga, moved ahead of his wife Olga by six months:

I was told that it was easier for women to find work in Spain as live-in and for men it was harder but at the end I said I'm migrating out of jealousy, its better that I migrate. I heard commentaries that women are like- I don't know, I was worried that she would migrate and then forget about me. (October 2007, private accommodation)

Ramon, a fifty-one year-old married man and father to four children, also migrated from Quito to Madrid to provide and protect his wife and children: 'A man is ready to confront

any sort of situation, that is why I decided to come to Spain first'. Hector said he briefly left his spouse and two children in Ecuador because, 'My goal was to come to Spain for my family, even if I have to suffer.' However, men's disadvantaged position in relation to accessing the Spanish labour market challenged their role as the family breadwinner and encouraged a quick spousal reunification. Gabriel, for example, imagined that once in Madrid he would easily secure a job and then quickly reunify with both his wife and daughter, or return to Ecuador. When he moved in 2004, Gabriel was surprised to encounter disadvantages in the labour market. His wife Sara settled their four-year-old daughter with her mother in Ecuador to join Gabriel after eight months. They worked together as domestic workers and lived apart from their daughter for three years until they were finally able to reunite as well as welcome a newborn child into their family. In a different case in Madrid, Lillian's husband moved to Madrid for economic purposes while she stayed in the city of Macas to care for their three children. Initially she did not want to move to Spain because of fear of uprooting her children, but her husband convinced her that he needed help in the labour market. After eight months of living apart from her husband, the family reunited in Madrid.

Few men and women preferred to maintain a transnational family over a long period of time. The main reason for men seemed to be that they felt that their family was better-off living from his remittances in Ecuador. This is the case of Quique who left his mother, wife, two biological children aged seventeen and nine, and adopted daughter aged nine, and his niece in the small town of Guaranda. Living apart from his family had been emotionally difficult, but Quique felt they had a better quality of life in Ecuador than in Spain. Women also constructed an extended transnational marriage because of their advantage in the labour market in Spain. Leila, who I met through the Evangelical Church in Madrid, sustained a transnational marriage for four years. With the help of a close friend in Madrid, she travelled from the outskirts of Quito to Spain in 2003. Leila left behind four children aged seven, eleven, fourteen and nineteen under the care of her husband. She formed a transnational family because 'it is harder for men to find a job. That is why I prefer to work here and for him to stay in Ecuador'. In a different case, Juan José was a sixty-year-old man who joined his wife Martha in Spain in 2003 after living apart for five years. Martha explained that she preferred to migrate first because her husband would have difficulties accessing work in Spain. In Ecuador, Juan José worked as a construction worker but in Spain he was too old to be considered for this line of work, so he ended up cleaning offices, caring for an elderly man, or working as a security guard.

Gender Ideologies and Transnational Marriages in Spain

During interviews, the changes experienced with transnational marriages were 'essentially shaking out a family's dirty laundry' (Dreby, 2006, 37). The difficulties of coping with changes in marriages, independent of length, were mentioned by men. Similar to Datta *et al* (2010) study on London that explores the emotional dimension of men's experiences with migration, Ecuadorian men in Madrid suffered greatly in the absence of their wives, while women expressed most difficulties when living apart from their children (see below on transnational mothering). During interviews, transnational husbands cried and narrated that upon arrival to Spain they lacked appetite, and became physically ill or grew severely depressed. Quique, who had lived transnationally for one year from his wife and children, tearfully explained:

To come here the most difficult feeling, and what hurts the most, is to have to leave behind what I love the most: my children, wife and mother ...To leave behind what one love the most [crying], to miss out on the weekends, simply to miss out. That is the hardest price of emigrating. (October 2007, AESCO library)

Ernesto also expressed his emotional difficulties, especially at the initial stage of migration:

At first I did not adapt to Spain, life was difficult. I did not find work, I did not get use to the weather, I was lonely and sad. I felt that I needed my family. From one day to another to abandon my family and my children was very difficult. (October 2007, AESCO library)

Coping with transnational marriages, and loss of status in the host society, was also marked by gender issues such as violence, alcohol, womanising, and gambling (also see Piper, 2005; and Chapter 8). During interviews, infidelity was a particularly recurring theme among men. This issue was directly related to the emotional difficulties including loneliness, depression and separation from the family. However, infidelity was difficult to substantiate, except in the case of Fabien. He narrated how his marital problems stemmed back to Ecuador and that for him infidelity was perceived as something transitory while living transnationally:

I am not going to pretend to be a saint and say that I was here by myself. I had a companion here in Spain (*me hice de una señora*). This lady wanted me to separate from my wife and I said 'never!' I always told my wife and children the truth... and I never stopped communicating or sending money home to them. That never! (October 2007, Centro Hispano-ecuatoriano offices)

Transnational husbands were not necessarily critical of their own behaviour, which included among other things drinking, gambling, and drug taking, but presented themselves as committed husbands through fulfilling their prescribed roles as breadwinners for their family in Ecuador. In the particular case of Fabien, his marriage did not fail when he was unfaithful, as long as he did not direct his monetary attention to forming a new family in Spain (*hacerse de compromiso*). Women, nonetheless, did not passively submit to exaggerated performances of masculinity. Instead, some challenged such demonstrations of power (see more details in Chapter 8).

Hirsch (2003) proposes that transnational migration does not always lead to family breakdown but can actually help consolidate conjugal relations. Also, Pribilsky concludes in his study on the US that 'despite hardships, couples often state that their relationships improved with migration' (2004, 313). Similar to these findings, the large majority of couples had reunited after a short length of separation, and agreed that migration was difficult but that it can actually strengthen their marriage. Some suggested that men had become better husbands or 'reformed' with transnational marriages. This may partly be because of women's advantage to access work in the host society (see Chapter 6). Quique, for example, said that before arriving to Spain someone told him 'in one year you will have another wife' and he defiantly answered 'let's see!' During the interview he spoke of himself as a loyal husband, 'Look, it's been two years and I still do not have another wife' and continued,

Here one does not necessarily have to find someone else (*hacerse de compromiso*). To fall in love with another person I would have to leave behind my household of eighteen years. I would have to stop loving my wife of eighteen years, my seventeen-year-old son, and my nine-year-old son and daughter. I would betray my family and I come from a family with respect. To come here the most difficult feeling, and what hurts the most, is to have to leave behind what I love the most: my children, wife and mother. (October 2007, AESCO library)

In the above case of Fabien, he considered that, 'In Ecuador we had problems but from afar our marriage rehabilitated', or Ramón believed that: 'Before I was a gambler and liked women, but since I came to Spain and became a Christian, I am a better husband'. According to Hector:

Now in Spain I look out for my wife and children. I am grateful to her that she was a good woman, I would do so many things and she withstood all the bad moments [infidelities]. I told her 'what happened in Ecuador will not happen

again, we are going to erase that and start a new life'. I am not saying that we are always happy, I have problems, but I would never sleep outside my home, our fights are never that bad. (November 2007, AESCO library)

In contrast to men, women were composed when speaking of the distance with their husbands. Despite some views that Ecuadorian women were promiscuous in Spain, for wives it was implicit that they were committed to their marriages by remaining faithful and by making frequent phone calls and sending remittances. Exceptionally, there was a case of Leila who was concerned with her husband's fidelity in Ecuador. Leila feared that in her absence, her husband Mauricio in Ecuador had formed a new relationship. When asked about this stereotype, Ramon agreed that in Ecuador: 'There are irresponsible men that think "my wife is over there working for me so I'll give myself an easy life" usually by drinking and womanising'. Nevertheless, women's difficulties and emotional pain was not so much related to conjugality but with the inability to care for their children on a daily basis, indicating that transnational spaces were relevant to women in terms of their roles as a mother (see also Pratt, 2009; Salazar Parreñas, 2001).

Transnational Parenting in Spain

As discussed in Chapter 2, research on gender and migration shows that migrant women engage actively in sustaining family links through 'transnational motherhood' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997⁶⁵). However, the notion of men's private experiences through 'transnational fathering' remains largely neglected (but see Pribilsky, 2004; Salazar Parreñas, 2008 the Philippines). This is partly because research on transnational migration shows that men are more involved in maintaining collective transnational linkages with their countries of origin. From the sample in this study, it emerged that there were more transnational fathers (65 percent) than transnational mothers (39 percent). The high proportion of transnational fathers was largely related to men's ascribed breadwinner responsibilities in the country of origin. Fundamentally, transnational fatherhood was considered a way to meet their children's economic needs and provide a better quality of life. Male respondents echoed the notion that 'I migrated for my children' and remittances could never fail because 'my children depend on my money'.

⁶⁵ For more references see: Alicea, 1997 on the US; Boehm, 2001 on Mexico; Escrivá, 2001, 2003 on Peruvians in Spain; Hirsch, 1999 on Mexicans in the US; Mahler, 1999 on the US; Meñaca on Ecuadorians; Parreñas 2001, 2003, 2005 on Filipinos in the US; Pedone, 2003 on Ecuadorians in Spain; Raijman and Schammah-Gesser, 2003 on Latin Americans in Israel; Salih, 2001 on Moroccans in Italy; Schmalzbauer, 2004 on Hondurans in the US; Sørensen, 2005 on Colombians and Dominicans in Europe; Zontini, 2002, 2004 on Filipinos and Moroccans in Spain

In addition to the economic dimension of transnational parenthood, when separated from their children, a growing number of studies suggest that it is marked by emotions (Datta *et al*, 2010; Pratt, 2009; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). On the one hand, and as frequently illustrated in studies, transnational motherhood among Ecuadorian women was exceptionally painful. For instance, when interviewing Miriam inside the Evangelical Church in Madrid she grew teary remembering what it was like being a transnational mother for over three years. Miriam left her two daughters in the care of her mother in Macas and explained, 'Horrible, I had such a hard time I could not sleep because I was always crying', and when I asked whether to stop the interview she responded, 'No, keep on taping me crying, it is hard for me to speak of this, but it is something I can never forget or stop feeling'. Lara, also from the Church, moved to Spain in 2003 to support her mother, sister, four children, and nieces who live in the coastal region of Ecuador. When asked about her children in Ecuador, she devoutly exclaimed, 'God has given me the grace to be a mother, but not the ability to exercise it'. In a different case, Sara moved to Spain in 2004 to join her husband. She left her of three-year old daughter in the care of her mother and narrated:

It was very difficult. Each week when we would spoke it was horrible because the child wanted to be with mommy, or she wanted to be with daddy and cried a lot. I suffered so much for my child and until today she suffers and asks why we left her behind, why did we abandon her. I think a father can be absent but never a mother! (May 2007, private accommodation)

Similarly, Olga moved to Spain with her husband Ernesto to sustain their two children who were under the care of their grandmother in the rural Andean region of Ecuador. When asked about her experiences as a mother from afar she responded,

It is difficult for me to live apart from my children. If there were the same work opportunities in Ecuador as there are here I would have never left them. I feel very sad because I know that money will never let me recuperate their childhood and the time spent apart. (October 2007, Private accommodation)

Olga maintained that no parent can be at ease with having left her children behind: 'the love of a mother cannot be replaced, a mother is a mother, and yet I am afraid that they will forget me'. There is always the fear that mothers will never make up for the time and distance, and that their children might forget them. Emanuela was a single woman who recalled mostly feelings of guilt for leaving behind her son in the care of his biological father, someone who he had never met. Or Lara, for instance, said 'I often feel guilty. I mean, I know they are fine with my mother, but I feel guilty for not being

with them'. Or Ramona, who left her daughter in the care of her sister Lorelei, said that 'I wish I did not leave her but I had no other choice. Until today I am thankful to my sister but I feel bad for not being able to be with her'. In the meantime, women consoled themselves by considering migration as a sacrifice and by working abroad for their children. Through interviews women agreed that transnational motherhood was only temporary and that they would reunify with their children in Spain to achieve their goal: 'I came to ensure my children get ahead and give them a better life here' (*sacar adelante a mis hijos para darles una mejor vida acá*).

Importantly, and shown less frequently in studies, men shared the similar emotions as the transnational mothers. Quique, discussed above, who left his mother, wife, and three children in Ecuador, expressed:

Goodness, it is so hard to be a father from a distance. To be a father, husband, and a son is hard...there is a risk that I may lose my children, that they may go down the wrong path, but I decided to take that risk to try and give them a better life. (October 2007, AESCO library)

Hector, who reunited with his wife after eight months, was a transnational father to his two children in Ecuador:

It is difficult for me and for my wife. You know, a father is a father. I am so thankful to my sister that she has such a big heart and is a good person. She stayed with my children and takes such good care of them. (November 2007, AESCO library)

Some men also expressed guilt as the transnational mothers. When I asked Ramon about living apart from his children he replied,

When things aren't going well I feel guilty. My eldest daughter was left responsible for the two youngest and had problems with her husband, I felt bad not being there. A child always needs a father. (May 2007, Evangelical Church, Madrid)

When interviewing single men, they reinforced their position in the family by reproducing negative stereotypes around transnational motherhood. In studies on South-east Asia it has been noted that migrant women present a challenge to public perceptions of the ideal family and are singled out for unfavourable, often morally loaded views. They are viewed as unnatural mothers or 'promiscuous, selfish, pleasure-seeking women who neglect their husbands and children' (Gamburd, 2003, 191 on Sri Lanka). In this sense, some single Ecuadorian men spoke poorly of

transnational mothers. Joaquin, for instance, migrated to try to improve his own economic situation as well as that of his retired parents, sister, and nieces in Ecuador. However his experience in Spain has been marked by a sharp loss of status in the labour market as well as a variety of sentimental frustrations. Due to difficulties with coping with changing gender roles and relations in Spain, during an interview he anecdotally narrated:

I know a case where a mother left her child with her parents and came to Spain. Here she met a man, got pregnant and forgot about her baby in Ecuador. She never sent her parents money to pay off her debts and then they took away her parents house and the child was left homeless. (October 2007, local cafe, Madrid)

The Gendered Nature of Communicating across Borders

Maintaining transnational family connections has been made easier through the development of modern communication technologies, and more specifically the lowering cost of phone calls known as the 'social glue of migrant transnationalism' (Vertovec, 2004, 219; see also plate 7.1). All respondents in this study maintained strong social connections with family members in Ecuador. Transnational parents, such as Leila, Naeva, Olga, Ernesto, Ramon, Fabien, Lara, and Quique, agreed that what saddened them most about life in Madrid was not having any relatives, especially their children. Thus, communication was crucial for migrants to feel connected to their families and to maintain moral support during periods of family separation. Transnational personal relations can prove even more important than the ones established in their new local context, especially for female live-in domestics. 'There is nothing like my friends and family in my own country, here I have not been able to make friends, I am very lonely' said Yuda, a widower and single transnational mother.

Depending on the structure of their household, migrant workers telephoned regularly with their parents, spouses, siblings, and children in Ecuador. Generally, migrant fathers spoke more with their sons, and migrant women with their mothers and daughters, which reinforced traditional gender ideologies. For example, Ramón called home two or three times a week and said that he spoke most with his teenage son while his wife talked with their eldest daughter. And Sara called home more than her husband when she was on maternity leave, but when she worked as a live-in domestic worker her husband had access to the employers' car and called frequently from the

local *locutorio*⁶⁶. Men's phone conversations with the family focused on the local affairs and financial matters, and they also asked their children about school and friends. Women mostly gave a generic checklist of things they discussed with the female members of their family, and in the cases of transnational mothers, they also spoke with their children about school and the care they were receiving (see also Schmalzbauer, 2004). In addition, men and women's phone conversations also focused on future migration plans of family members. Fabien, discussed above, said that when speaking to his children on the phone 'they tell me how they are, about their friends, and ask me when I am going back there'. Yoli, a widower and mother to 4 adults, said her youngest daughter Carla wanted to join her in Spain 'Don't send me money, I want to go to Spain with you', and Ernesto's young son asks 'When are you going to come and take me with you. I want to be there with you'.

In particular, male participants viewed transnational communication as an opportunity to actually improve their relationships with their children. On the one hand, migrant fathers, with the help of their spouses, continued to provide for their children economically to keep their role as breadwinner intact, yet they also felt entitled to further nurture relationships with their children in Ecuador. Men made extensive efforts to cultivate relationships with their children to protect their position in the family. Fabien, discussed above, explained how his relationship with his children changed from afar: 'When I came first, it was like they didn't miss me that much, but when she came, I saw that they got closer to me'. Whereas Ramon proudly explained his conversation with his teenage son where they talked about topics as intimate as his sentimental life:

In certain aspects they talk more with my wife, but other not so much because they trust me. My son told me about a girl he is in love with and that she loves him but her parents rejected him. So I told him to close that door because it is not good to feel humiliated, 'Maybe she fancies you but it is not good for you', I told him. I think it is better for him to continue studying and if she wants, the relationship will continue, grow, and even mature. (May 2007, Evangelical Church, Madrid)

Emotional repression, a characteristic of the construction to traditional forms of hegemonic masculinity in Ecuador, is a predominant stereotype in the father-child relationship (Fuller, 2003). However with frequent communication, fathers welcomed the opportunity to be more emotionally expressive with their children to reinforce their

⁶⁶ *Locutorios* are small businesses offering services to other migrants, generally cheap phone calls, internet access, and for sending remittances

dominance in the family. When I asked to Quique how he built a relationship of *cariño* (love or affection) from afar, as he called it, he replied 'conversing with my children, maintaining a relation by telephone'. Transnational fathers also defined their roles as a *consejero* (advisor). 'A child always needs a father for advice', explained Ernesto on the relation with its two young children in Ecuador. In another case, Ramón narrates one of his telephone calls with his four children:

I thanked my children for trusting me, they know they can always receive my advice from me – their father with years of experience, a friend, and a brother in Christ. I have told them that they can always count on me. (ibid)

The changing paternal roles through transnational spaces were a source of ambiguity for some parents. Fathers were mostly concerned with the lack of *cariño* their children may be getting in Ecuador. Ernesto, for example, was discontent for not being able to live with his children on a daily basis, 'To offer them affection by telephone is not the same thing... they need more *cariño*, the *cariño* of a father'. However, given the length of the family's separation, Ramón felt it was necessary to reiterate that he had not abandoned his children:

I am always on the telephone, encouraging them to be patient with me. I have migrated thinking about a better future for them and I do not want them to think that I have abandoned them because I do not care about them or I do not love them. (ibid)

Plate 7.1: HappyMovil Ad to Promote Cheap Offers to Call Ecuador

The advertisement features the text 'tu móvil Low Cost' at the top. Below it, it says 'Consulta todas las tarifas en: www.happymovil.es 902007599'. To the right, there is a table of international call rates.

LLamadas internacionales	A fijo €/min	A móvil €/min
Argentina	0,05	0,20
Colombia	0,07	0,10
Ecuador	0,10	0,18
Bolivia	0,10	0,20
Perú	0,06	0,20
Europa Occidental	0,05s	0,20
Senegal	0,15	0,18
Bulgaria	0,08	0,20
Rumania	0,08	0,20
Marruecos	0,15	0,22
China	0,05s	0,05s
EEUU	0,05s	0,05s

Source: Photo taken by author

Maintaining connections through visits was not common. According to the questionnaire survey, only legally regular respondents travelled to Ecuador about once every two to five years. Transnational visits were harder to nurture for migrants that had recently arrived or who are or were undocumented, since for them it is impossible to travel to the country of origin, and they tended to be in a more vulnerable socio-economic situation. For example, Santiago and his family had to wait more than six years for all their family to obtain residency in Spain, and thus had not been able to travel to Ecuador yet to see his relatives. Also, Gabriel could not go back to Ecuador even when his younger brother was killed in an accident because he was in an irregular legal status. Others, such as Hector and his wife, preferred to avoid visiting Ecuador 'because it is too sad and emotionally difficult' and rather focused resources on child reunification:

Better than visiting I thought it was better to go ahead and do the paperwork for reunification and bring them here with me. When the papers came through *then* I travelled but to bring them with me. (November 2007, AESCO library, Madrid)

Given the difficulty to travel, migrants exchanged gifts with their relatives. The most common gifts were clothes, photos, music, videotapes, medicine, and traditional Ecuadorian food. The audiovisual gifts, which played a role in researching transnational families, depicted a special party or event, like a wedding or the festival of the town or a portrait of a family member (see Carrillo, 2008; see also Chapter 4). In a few instances, there were transnational connections with other countries where Ecuadorians have also settled. Ecuadorian families are now spread globally, with members in different countries and continents which are constantly growing. Respondents said they had family or friends living in the UK or the US, with whom they kept in touch now and then. In the cases of Jabari, Juan, and Ramon, they had relatives who first migrated to Spain and then to the UK, because in the former immigration rules were less strict, but once they achieved EU residency they moved to the UK. This coincides with some studies which argue that Spain can become a stepping stone to Ecuadorian migration to the UK and the US (McIlwaine, 2010). However, there is also evidence of migration flows in the other direction. For example, Cecilio moved to Germany first before moving to Spain. Olga had relatives in Belgium who wanted to move to Spain because of linguistic and cultural similarities.

Remittances and Transnational Families

Research on transnational linkages tends to be dominated by work on remittances (Carling, 2005; Escrivá and Ribas, 2004; Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen, 2004). In part, this is due to the growing importance of remittances for the economies of developing countries and their new-found role as providing the answers to development problems (Datta, 2009; Datta et al, 2007). In 2009 Ecuador received an estimated \$2.4 billion dollars in remittances (accounting for 7 percent of Gross Domestic Product) (Central Bank of Ecuador, 2009)⁶⁷. Within the Latin American and Caribbean region, Ecuador is the fourth top country to receive remittances after Mexico (\$23 billion), Brazil (\$7.4 billion) and Colombia (\$4.6 billion) (IDB, 2007).

In this study, 81 percent of the migrant workers agreed that remittances were a central activity in their lives. Men and women agreed that it was a matter of family survival in the home country. The comment 'My family depends on my money' was echoed among the majority of the respondents which reflects narratives of migrant's depiction of themselves as 'heroic' for moving to sustain their family in the country of origin (Datta *et al*, 2008, 28). Money was sent regularly to family members (once or even twice a month), although the frequency and amount varied depending on the economic conditions of both the migrant and their family back in Ecuador. Those who left children behind, like Lara, Leila, and Quique, sent money twice a month to pay for their children's expenses (schooling, as well as payment of uniforms, books and other materials), as well as to pay for daily expenses such as rent, food, utility bills, and medical bills.

The amount of remittances sent varied depending on the line of work. According to the survey, monthly remittances ranged between 10% and 30% of migrant workers monthly wage (€100-600). Workers preferred to send money through banks, *locutorios*, or courier businesses (MoneyGram and Western Union, see plate 7.2). Domestic workers, especially female live-in workers and couples, had a high saving capacity and sent more remittances (with an average of €300). This follows findings from studies that female domestics by and large send back home a greater share of their earnings in remittances than other migrant workers (Sorensen 2005). There were cases of remittances being much higher. For example, Graciela worked as a live-in domestic worker and remitted between €600-900 of her monthly salary (€800-1000) to

⁶⁷ Central Bank of Ecuador (2009). See online database: [\[http://www.bce.fin.ec/frame.php?CNT=ARB0000985\]](http://www.bce.fin.ec/frame.php?CNT=ARB0000985) (February 1 2011)

invest in building a house and to help out her family (parents and siblings). Quique earned €800 and sent €750 to sustain his family in Ecuador. He wanted to give his family a better life than his own humble upbringing but to do so, he had to live an extremely austere life with only €50 on a monthly basis (see also Datta *et al*, 2007). There were variations in the amount of remittances when considering contract cleaners. In comparison to domestic work, cleaners had a higher income but only sent an average of €200 to their family members in the sending country. Female contract cleaners sent less than the average because they earned less than men, and most had local family responsibilities which put their low wages under pressure to cover daily expenses in Spain (including rent, transportation, food, etc). Male contract cleaners, on the other hand, earned more than women but had lower rates of family reunification and continued to send relatively large amounts in remittances. Therefore, this study suggests that women's ability to send remittances declines when they improve their labour market status and as they achieve family reunification. Also, it indicates that migrant men sustain stronger economic linkages to improve their status in the country of origin.

Plate 7.2: MoneyGram Ad Promoting Men's Remittances to Ecuador



Source: Photo taken by author

Mothers emerged as the most important recipients of remittances in Ecuador reflecting the central figure that mothers play in Latin American culture as well as the perception that women tend to use remittances in more productive ways than men. Diego, a thirty-year-old Ecuadorian man in Spain, said that he always sent money to his mother and grandmother. Since he recently formed his own family in Spain he had been under economic pressure yet never failed to send money on a monthly basis. It was also

important for single men and women to maintain a strong commitment towards other female relatives in the home country to enable their return to their home country or request family reunification. This was the case for Joaquin who sent between €100-€200 per month to his sister, who was a single mother, and to his father to match his retirement. Jabari sent €250 per month to his mother for the household expenses and anything that his niece needed for her studies. Emanuela remitted money on a monthly basis to help her divorced mother pay for medical treatment and monthly expenses. Even those who could barely survive economically sent at least some small amounts of money. Yoli, who does contract cleaning and caring jobs to save for her retirement in Ecuador, is better-positioned to jointly remit to her mother in Ecuador with her four migrant siblings:

Sometimes I cannot send money to my children, but I cannot miss sending money to my mother. Among the four brothers and sisters that live here in Spain, we come together and send her money because she is old and works in a rural area. She has to pay for her own water, electricity, someone to harvest the crops, and medication for osteoporosis. Between the four of us we agree on an amount, we gather the money, and send it all at once. (October 2007, public park, Madrid)

In a different case, and with the economic demands of sustaining a family in Madrid, Hector takes turns with his sister to send €200 to his parents every other month. This money helps sustain his parents and siblings in Ecuador. Sometimes men remit to male family members, such as a brother or father, rather than a mother or wife, mainly for purchasing land or building a house (see plate 7.3).

Plate 7.3: Migrant House under Construction in Macas, Ecuador



Source: Photo taken by author

To a lesser degree, economic remittances do not flow only one way and instead, they are multi-directional (Datta, 2009; Datta *et al.*, 2007). Some participants relied on family members in Ecuador to finance their trips by selling off property or placing mortgages on their houses. In the past, other respondents had received money from their relatives in Ecuador. This was also the case for Cecilio who moved to Germany in 2001. In Germany he lived irregularly and he had to move clandestinely through the city without steady work. Disappointed with the economic outlook in Germany, he moved to Spain because he felt that it was easier to obtain a legal status there. The range of jobs open to him in Spain was also wider, and he could live more freely without being threatened by the police. During periods of unemployed, his father would send him money from Ecuador.

The Construction of Transnational Families in Ecuador

Research on gender and migration shows that the costs of migration, especially for those participating in transnational activities, are asymmetrical for women and children in the sending country (Dreby, 2006; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Herrera, 2002; Hochschild 2000; Herrera, 2002). Similar to other studies on gender and transnational migration research, the dominant pattern in Ecuador was non-migrant women's crucial role in taking over caring tasks when women migrated and left their children behind. 'Other mothers', usually a female family member such as a grandmother, aunt, or sister, or elder daughters, are primarily held responsible as primary caregivers for children in the country of origin (Dreby, 2006; Schmalzbauer, 2004; Hochschild 2000). As a result, non-migrant women from different rely on remittances from abroad, and are burdened with the domestic responsibility to provide daily care for children.

Interviewees held in Madrid confirmed the preference for a female family member as substitute caregiver. Lara in Madrid told me, 'I felt okay leaving them [four children] because I knew they would be with my own mother'. Sara and Ramona spoke highly of the care their daughters received from family members (mother and sister, respectively) and said they felt eternal gratitude to them. Research, particularly on the Global South, has pointed out that the transfer of migrant women's caregiving tasks to other mothers is not new since non-migrant men fail to undertake caring to replace the migrant mother (Salazar Parreñas, 2001, 2005; Wagner, 2008). For example after Ivonne, a domestic worker in Quito, internally migrated from rural to urban areas of

Ecuador, she relied on her mother-in-law to care for her two daughters over holidays or when they were ill:

We drop off my daughters for as long as months at a time at my mother-in-law's where she has land and animals. We take food and sent money to her every two weeks. We deposit money in my sister-in-law's bank account, and then she picks it up over there. (July 2007, private accommodation, Quito)

What is novel about the transfer of care among women is the distance that separates transnational mothers from their own parents, spouses, and children in the country of origin, and the form of communication and the regularity with which they are able to speak with and visit them (Zontini, 2004). Although uncommon, in this study there was the exceptional case of a migrant father who organised their children's care. Fabien, who was a transnational father to two children, disapproved of the maternal grandparents caring for his children and was very vocal about it. 'First they stayed with my in-laws who are very disorderly; it is a different behaviour for me.' Being openly critical of the lack of discipline and respect in his in-laws household, he reorganised the arrangements so that the paternal family substituted as caregivers:

I went to Ecuador and moved them [children] over to my parents. I prefer that they be with my parents because before at my in-laws they did not even say hello to elderly people. (October 2007, Centro Hispano-ecuatoriano office, Madrid)

Before returning to Spain, and with the financial remittances from abroad, he hired a domestic worker and organised his mother's household needs so she could care for his children:

I told my mother to have my children help out with the domestic chores but not to have them as slaves. So I bought her a washing machine so she did not have to hand wash the clothes and I pay for someone to do the housework. That way, they have help there. (ibid)

A range of different care giving arrangements emerged among the family members that migrants left behind in Ecuador. By and large, these arrangements placed burdens on other mothers, as well as on the nuclear family (Schmalzbauer, 2004). In the case of Lorelei, a mother to 4 children, a transnational wife, and carer for her sister Ramona's daughter over a span of two years said: 'It was difficult because I saw my family get bigger and I had to be responsible for her and treat her as my own daughter to get ahead'. Consequently, other mothers transferred their burdens onto their own families.

As well as her niece having feelings of marginalisation in the adoptive home, and feeling 'like a guest' in the house, or like a 'burden', Lorelei's four biological children also found it difficult to adjust: 'They [her children] had to suddenly accept that someone new came into our home, it was difficult for them to accept someone who did not usually live with us, it took a lot of time for them to adapt'.

Similar to Yeates (2005), Moscoso (2008, 2009) found that in the absence of Ecuadorian migrant parents the eldest single daughters are burdened with working outside the home and providing care for the younger children left behind. Comparably, during an interview in Macas with Manuela, the daughter of Naeva, she narrated how her life had changed since her deceased father and mother left for Spain and her eldest sister married. Manuela was twenty-one and a single mother, as well as an other mother, and recounted the negative effects on their personal development:

When my sister married we moved into this house with my four siblings, two nieces, and brother-in-law. Before I used to study and later I worked at a computer centre, but then my brother and sister got ill and there was no one to look after them so I quit my school and work. (August 2007, private accommodation, Macas)

Although the eldest sister was also considered the other mother, Manuela was the eldest *single* daughter, and therefore had been delegated the burden of caring for her siblings, her own child, and two nieces. In a different case, Denise the twenty-five-year old married daughter of Ramon, was the eldest daughter and considered the other mother to her teenage sister and brother. After her parent's departure, Denise started to have marital problems related to the pressure of working as a receptionist, caring for her husband, two children, and two siblings. As a result of the burdens, her adolescent siblings moved into a nearby flat where she closely supervised them. Denise remained in charge of administrating the money her parents sent to pay for rent, school, food, and medical bills, but her younger brother German was expected to take charge of the household chores such as paying bills, food shopping, cleaning, and cooking. When speaking with German's father in Madrid, Ramon was proud of his son. 'Even though my son is very young he has matured very quickly and I am I amazed every time I hear him speak on the phone'.

In a dramatic case, there was the exceptional case of four adolescent children. Yuda, a widower, had no family members with whom she could leave her children prior to migrating to Spain. Her fifteen-year-old teenage daughter was left in charge of

receiving and administrating the monthly remittances and cleaning and cooking for her three younger siblings. They counted on frequent supervision from the maternal grandmother, who lived in a nearby rural area, and Yuda frequently spoke to her children on the phone. Her primary concern was the lack of quality care available to them.

Although it is rare, a few studies suggest that when migration is predominantly female, the men remaining in the communities of origin may take on the responsibilities of reproductive work which they had not done in the past (Gamburd, 2003). In this study, for example, Emanuela moved to Spain in 1998 to provide for her son. She was a single mother at a very young age and after the father of her son refused to marry her, she discontinued contact with her son's biological father. However, she had no care choices for her son, Carlos, upon departing to Spain. She said, 'I thought: who is my nine-year-old son going to be better with? Who better than with his own father!' During Emanuela's absence, Carlos was under the care of his father for six years. In this particular case, and comparable to research that points out that men rely on a female family member to provide care for children, Carlos's father counted on help from his wife for caring, cleaning the house and cooking meals. In a different case, Leila moved to Spain to provide for her family and her husband opted for a care-giving role as a 'male other mother' to their four adolescent children. Similar to an in-depth study from the Philippines (Asis *et al.* 2004), Leila transferred her care responsibilities onto her husband, and he relied on his wife to financially provide for the family from Spain. Although this was one of the three exceptional cases of men caring for their own children, it was significant for both men and women. On the one hand, women changed their perception of the male role in the family by giving them space to care for their own children. At the same time, men were able to construct a more involved form of fatherhood by doing what is considered 'female' domestic chores, even though they may rely on another woman to help with the daily tasks. The impact of delegating care onto men had effects on an adolescent boy in Ecuador. In the case of Sergio, a young man who reunified with his mother in Spain explained:

When my mother migrated, my father taught us to value the tasks that she did — to cook, to wash clothes, food shop... I learned a lot about the work and what my mother did and that way he taught us to value women's work, the work of a housewife. (November 2007, AESCO office, Madrid)

The impact on children's constructions of gender ideologies was very powerful. Sergio explained, 'Maybe my mother was not present, but my father was both at the same

time. He took care of us, he was a father and mother at the same time!’ He then continued to express greater appreciation for the work customarily done by women: ‘Sometimes a child does not know how to value the work a mother does, she always had everything ready for us’. In opposition to a study on non-migrant Mexican women, one of whom asserted, after her husband migrated to the US, ‘*¡Ya soy hombre y mujer!*’ (Now I am a man *and* a woman!), this particular case underscores how migration could potentially change perceptions of and roles associated with men’s participation in care giving activities (Boehm, 2004).

Gendered Outcomes from Creating Transnational Families

Female family members living in Ecuador were not particularly empowered by the changes experienced when leading a transnational family. Rather than perceiving themselves as dependents on their migrant family members, and reproducing the ‘heroic’ narratives of the migrants abroad, female participants described themselves as having more responsibilities (also see Datta *et al*, 2008). Still responsible for domestic chores and child care, Lorelei, for example, took on tasks that were previously understood as the sphere of men. Lorelei explains,

When we married and when he [her husband] was here I was always at home dedicated to the housework and my children while he was out at work and did the food shopping. [When he left for Spain] That was difficult because I had to do everything, I had more responsibility. I had to go out and do the shopping plus the housework. That was very hard for me. (July 2007, restaurant, Ibarra)

Studies also show that non-migrant women are expected to be responsible for the care of the family members in the country of origin with the financial support they receive from abroad, but Pribilsky (2004) also found that they face new burdens. In the above case, and a few years after Lorelei’s husband and sister’s departure, she was also expected to work outside the home:

‘We decided that I would work outside the home to help out my children and niece and support my husband from over here. But when I started working everything doubled – I had to go out to work and take care of the children, it turned out to be very difficult’. (ibid)

Women worked outside the home to compensate for inconsistent remittances, over which they had little control. Although women constituted the majority of remittance recipients, and usually prioritised the money for family needs, there was one case of mismanagement of the money, which led to conflict. Ramon sent the usual €300 to his

children and he had discussed with them over the phone how it would be spent. On one occasion his daughter Denise autonomously invested the money on something else than the basic expenses. From Spain Ramon explained 'I got mad, very upset, because then I had to send money a second time'. He was very disappointed in his daughter Denise, whereas she felt unsettled by her father's lack of trust in her new roles as mother and caretaker to her two younger siblings, which she did in addition to working outside the home.

Also significant were the repercussions of transnational communication on women, which reinforced gender norms. Non-migrant female participants that were 'left behind' were surprisingly secretive about certain topics with their family members abroad. In consequence, migrant parents often felt excluded. 'They hide things from me, I ask them to tell me their things, but they have secrets', explained Naeva in Madrid. Transnational communication, or the lack of communication, was especially relevant to women's sexuality in Ecuador, one that is often considered a taboo topic for women. Naeva had concerns about her daughter Manuela dating in terms of her being sexually active when she was very young. This turned out to be the case and Manuela did get pregnant at the age of seventeen. Her siblings in Ecuador agreed to be her accomplices and not to tell Naeva. After the birth of the child, however, she found out from a family member in Spain that she was a grandmother and felt shocked and furious. Naeva felt that Manuela had disappointed her and damaged her own reputation. She felt that her daughter had failed her, tainting all her efforts of migration and work, which she had done to get her children ahead. From the stance of Manuela, on the other hand, she failed to tell her mother to avoid burdening her with more worries. In a different case, Ramon's daughter Denise went through a period of marital problems, but because she thought they would reconcile their differences, she did not share the details with her father. In Spain, Ramon explained:

When there was a conflict with my son-in-law, I do not know how it started, but I think it was best for my daughter to remain married. Until today I do not know what the problems were because when you're far away they can hide things. So I told my daughter that she had to behave as a wife, stay at his side—that is what I advised her. (May 2007, Evangelical Church, Madrid)

In Spain, and under the impression that single migrant mothers or widowers experienced greater freedom, it was surprising to find that migrant women were also inhibited to communicate on their own sexuality, mostly out of concern for their reputation. At the time of the interviews in Madrid, Yuda was dating a married man.

Yuda feared telling her children who lived in Ecuador because they 'were against the idea'. This example articulates that mothers for mothers who form new relationships in Spain, their children may question their mothers' emotional commitment to the family they have left behind. She explained that she did not want to leave him out of her own loneliness. The social repercussions of women's sexuality, particularly which went beyond marriage and children, was highly controlled in transnational spaces. In contrast to women, men were not as much a source of gossip unless they allegedly cheated on wives with other women in Spain and it became a formal relationship that undermined their ability to send money home.

Joining Parents in Spain: Attitudes towards Family Reunification

Family reunification and return migration were contested and ambiguous issues which varied depending on age. Children of the interviewees, who seemed indifferent to their parents' migration, were presented as eager to join their family members in Spain: 'My youngest children are happy, they say that when they join their father in Spain they will be better off', explained Lorelei before joining her husband in Spain. Migrant parents, however, were mostly concerned that children were being shifted from one caregiver to another after lengthy periods of parental absence:

My children are more affectionate with my mother than with me. When they move they will suffer because they are used to being with her in Ecuador. But I will give them all my love so they can learn to love me and that way we can recover from the time we lost (Olga, October 2007, private accommodation, Madrid)

Most adolescents, though, resisted their parents' efforts to reunite with them in Spain mostly out of resentment (see also Artico, 2003). Diana's father Ramon lived in Spain and he wanted her to join them but in response she said, 'I do not want to go to Spain; I want to stay here with my sister that happens because my parents left me when I was so young'. In the case of Sergio, he felt that moving to Spain 'was an obligation'. Migrant parents, in response, tried to be comprehensive and patient with their teenage children. Naeva, for example, explained that she had wanted to send for her youngest daughter Lily. In an interview with her sister Manuela I was told that Lily was ambivalent: 'My mother doesn't insist because Lily has to make the decision herself.' However, Naeva has gone ahead and made arrangements 'in case she makes up her mind'.

Migration seemed to become a viable option for adults who described their resentment toward their migrant parents as waning with time. According to Carla, Yoli's youngest daughter, 'I felt very sad when my mother left'. When I asked her if she still feels this way, Carla explained, 'I changed, I still feel sad but I am older and it doesn't affect me as much'. Although many do not entirely forgive their absent family members, once children grew and matured, they stopped feeling so distraught and they began to understand their parents' actions better. Indeed, scholars suggest that parent-child conflict decreases incrementally throughout the adolescent years (Lashley, 2000; Laursen *et al.*, 1998). When the emotional hold of separation loosens, children of migrant parents often choose to take advantage of their parents' migration networks (see Aranda, 2003). Carla, for example, is now keen on joining her mother in Spain if she can get a job offer, which is a path to obtaining a work permit before leaving the country of origin since family reunification is only for children under the age of eighteen. In Spain, her mother Yoli paid a total of €1,850 on job contracts and on both occasions she was ripped-off. Yoli was particularly persistent with Carla's migration so that she could return to Ecuador to care for her grandchildren and enjoy a secure retirement from Carla's remittances.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated that men and women in Spain and Ecuador were actively involved in the transnational family. At this stage of the migratory process, Ecuadorian migrant workers emphasised the importance of their private family relationships and maintained transnational connections through social (regular phone contact) and economic (remittances) links. Contrary to the general indication of the gender and transnational migration research that only show female domestic workers as involved in transnational family through 'transnational motherhood', this chapter argues that migrant male workers constructed and sustained stronger linkages than women with the country of origin.

The construction of a transnational family was marked by gender differences that were closely related to men and women's roles, relations, and identities. Women, on the one hand, maintained social and economic connection to the country of origin but preferred to quickly reunify with their children, which reflected an adherence to their role as mothers (see Chapter 8). On the other hand, this chapter highlighted the need to acknowledge that men working in feminised jobs in Spain showed more preference for transnational fatherhood. Men viewed transnational spaces as an opportunity to be

a breadwinner and regularly communicate to build more emotionally expressive relationships with their family in the country of origin, mainly as a way to protect their social privileges in the family. This compares to McIlwaine's (2010) work on Latin American men in London who manifest a 'double masculine consciousness'. On the one hand, Ecuadorian male participants played off marginal masculinities, which were related to men's labour market status being undermined in Spain, with hegemonic masculinities, manifested in the country of origin through power in the household in order to compensate for wider experiences of disempowerment.

As discussed in Chapter 6, men secured a more solid position than women in the labour market which in return helped their ability to economically maintain a transnational family. Domestic workers, especially female live-in workers, had a high saving capacity and sent more remittances. In comparison to domestic work, female contract cleaners had a higher income but sent lower amounts in remittances because they earned less than men, and most had local family responsibilities which put their low wages under pressure to cover daily expenses in Spain (see Chapter 8). Therefore, this chapter suggests that women's ability to send remittances declines when they improve their labour market status and as they achieve family reunification, while men were in a position to sustain longer-term economic linkages with the country of origin.

As a result to men's dominant position in the transnational family, there were a variety of outcomes for the family members in the country of origin. Although the sample size in Ecuador was comparably small, this chapter illustrates that the reconfiguration of the transnational family in the country of origin is widely feminised. A range of non-migrant female participants were responsible for domestic chores and caring the children 'left behind' (mother, grandmother, sister, cousin, daughter, mother-in-law, step mother, etc). In exchange, non-migrant counted on the financial support from abroad but unfortunately, there were few possibilities for improving gender equality. Women did not gain control or decide how to use the money which was received irregularly, and transnational communication was highly restrictive. In addition, and although empirical research on the role of gender in the transnational family revolves largely around unpaid child rearing activities, women's position in the labour market, as well as children's experiences, merit greater attention in future research.

The Reconstruction of Transnational Families in Madrid

As I have argued in earlier chapters, research on gender and migration tends to focus on the nature of paid work in the destination country emphasising its exploitative nature as well as on the effects of maintaining a transnational family in the home and destination countries. While these two dimensions have been explored in Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter examines a neglected aspect of the transnational family which relates to the ways in which female and male migrant workers negotiate their integration into their host society. Indeed, research on gender and transnational migration tends to assume that women will always be transnational mothers who are destined to live a life as temporary workers before they return to their home countries once they have saved enough money. However, evidence from this research has shown that this is much too simplistic a perspective. Instead, it shows that both transnational mothers and fathers are often extremely keen to settle in the host country and to bring their children to live with them. However, this raises important issues in relation to the work-life balance in host countries.

This chapter explores Ecuadorian men and women's involvement in various activities oriented towards their new place of settlement in Madrid in terms of participation in migrant organisations as well as the role of family reunification in the process of integration in Spain. Second, the chapter also examines how gender relations and identities transform as transnational families settle in Spain. Overall, the chapter suggests that women tend to be more involved in formal processes of integration through migrant organisations, the church and cultural activities than men, reflecting research elsewhere (see also Guarnizo and Portes, 2003; Jones Correa, 1998; Montoya *et al*, 2000). However, it also argues that the issue of family reunification is essential in understanding how Ecuadorian migrants get-by in Madrid and that this is a deeply gendered process in that men are always extremely keen to bring their wives to Spain as soon as possible if they migrate first. However, the same cannot be said of women who focus their efforts on reuniting with their husbands as well as their children. In turn, men are more content to remain as transnational parents for much longer than women.

Participation in Migrant Organisations and Cultural Activities in Madrid: A Gendered Perspective

It is widely accepted that immigrant organisations play a crucial role in the integration of migrants into the societies of their destination country (Guarnizo *et al*, 2003; Jones-Correa, 1998; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Through fieldwork it was corroborated that the organisations serving the Ecuadorian community in Madrid were oriented mainly to assisting integration rather than maintaining transnational linkages. In terms of the gendered nature of participation, the interviewees that were contacted through immigrant associations had the general perception that women were involved more actively than men in such organisations. This was partly because the scope of their activities was targeted towards women and was generally limited to providing information on employment in domestic work, legal assistance for family reunification, and gender empowerment. The work of the immigrant association 'America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation' (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish)⁶⁸, for example, focused on informing migrants on work opportunities as well as on the promotion of self-confidence among female migrants (interview, Aesco worker; see plates 8.1 and 8.2). Although only a few Ecuadorian women were able to participate in seminars on the evenings and weekends due to the long work hours, here they spoke about family and labour relations and received various types of support and advice. Men, who are considered to have a more limited orientation towards the host society, lamented that they felt isolated in Madrid as information and activities for men were very limited. Quique, who I met through the immigrant association and was a transnational husband and father, explained,

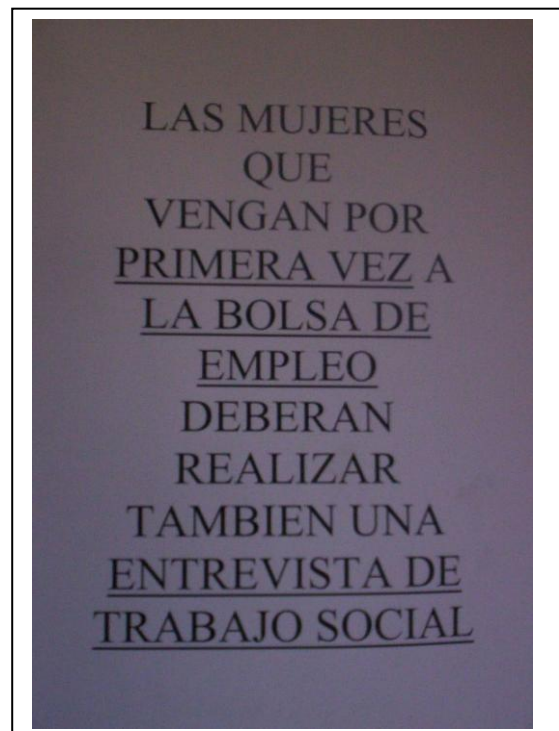
In AESCO there are very healthy meetings, I feel like they take the weight off me. But the problem is that there are more meetings for women's things and not for us men. I wish they could teach a specialised course on construction so that way I could find work in something else. (October 2007, AESCO library)

⁶⁸ America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation - *América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación* (AESCO for its acronym in Spanish) website: <http://www.ong-aesco.org/> (February 14 2011)

Plates 8.1 and 8.2: Flyers at AESCO Office for the Promotion of Gender Empowerment



Description: Gender violence awareness



Description: Support targeted to women⁶⁹

It also emerged in this study that support from religious institutions was an important resource for both men's and women's settlement. The religious networks from congregations in the Pentecostal Evangelical Church in Ecuador were discovered to be a place to learn about the possibilities of migration from the country of origin, and in Spain they used religious practices to articulate their emotionally difficult migratory processes (Levitt, 2003; see also Chapter 5). Similar to the above on immigrant associations, the general perception was that migrant women were more active than men in the Pentecostal Evangelical Church. Women of a variety of Latin American nationalities were more involved than men in doing voluntary work for the Church. They were active participants in organising fundraising activities (food sales with Ecuadorian dishes, raffles, and concerts), teaching the bible to children, weekly cell groups, and helping newly arrived Ecuadorian migrants (see plate 8.3).

⁶⁹ The flyer translates as "All first-time female users of the job centre must have an interview with the social worker"

Plate 8.3: Pentecostal Evangelical Ceremony held on Sundays



Description: A variety of Latin American migrants attending the emotional Sunday ceremony held at the Pentecostal Church (photo downloaded from Church's website in 2008).

Although male participants were less involved in the fundraising activities, they had a positive perception towards the support they received through the Church because it helped them to deal with the challenges of their lives as migrant workers. For example, Cecilio, a single male cleaner, made use of a Church's *comedor*⁷⁰ to eat a decent meal and also attended church every Sunday.

I go to an evangelical Church which has helped me morally and psychologically. They give me strength by reading the bible to me which has helped me a lot, I am very thankful for that. (October 2007, AESCO library)

My participant observation at the celebrations of the Pentecostal religious groups, identified unconventional gender behaviour to be an issue which was often mentioned and debated among men. The Pentecostalism movement, which tied both men and women to traditional family roles, had a strict ban on smoking, drinking, infidelity, and gambling. Women's roles were limited mostly to the family, and Evangelical men presented themselves positively, in comparison to other 'deviant' behaviours of Ecuadorians, as reformed husbands. This was also illustrated in Chapter 7, with Ramón who became a devoted Christian after he arrived to Spain. 'Before I was a

⁷⁰ Translated as a soup kitchen or meal centre where the Church offers free meals to migrants in low income neighbourhoods.

gambler and liked women, but since I came to Spain and became a Christian, I am a better husband'. This served Ramon, as well as other migrant Evangelical men, to improve their standing in the family throughout the migration process.

In addition to religious services, the Ecuadorian presence in Madrid is significant in the growing Latin American ethnic businesses, cultural festivals and activities, as well as in the spread of a media industry targeted at migrants (also see Kyle, 1999; Landolt, 2001; Meisch, 2002 on ethnic or nostalgia commerce; see plates 8.4 and 8.5). In 2005 and under mandate from President Correa in Ecuador, the 'National Secretary for Migration' (SENAMI) launched a website the 'The Migrant's Site'⁷¹, which for instance, lists the various migrant associations for Madrid, the Ecuadorian restaurants (in addition to the informal food vendors across the city⁷²), Latin-American radio stations, as well as several newspapers and magazines, apart from the media sources and information on current events in the country of origin that migrants have access to.

Plate 8.4: Ecuadorian Bakery in Madrid



Source: Photo taken by author

⁷¹ The Migrant Website – El Portal del Migrante <http://dm.migranteecuadoriano.gob.ec> (February 11 2011)

⁷² Interview and participant observation was carried out with a 'park dynamizer' that worked with migrants in public spaces. See *Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado* (CEAR) – Spanish Commission for Refugee Aid: <http://www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Buscador-Simple/Servicio-de-Dinamizacion-de-Espacios-Publicos?vgnextfmt=default&vgnextoid=f2669fb857608210VgnVCM1000000b205a0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=8db7566813946010VgnVCM1000000dc0ca8c0RCRD>

Plate 8.5: Store of Imported Latin-American Products in Madrid



Source: Photo taken by author

It was a common perception among many respondents, although not all, that integration in general was easier for women than men. Some argued that women integrated faster because of their greater access to employment and their active participation within immigrant organisations and the Church. Some interviewees also believed that integration was easier for women because of their family commitments, as they were the ones who had to learn to communicate and mix in their new society. However, others suggested that women were more isolated because their caring responsibilities for children kept them at home and that men were exposed to a wider community. Among men, a few mentioned that the experience with integration had been harder for women. Men worked longer hours and had less time to socialise, but they accessed more spaces and a larger community than women did. 'On weekends men go to the parks and play Ecua-volley⁷³, or to have a drink with their mates', stated Joaquin while interviewed in a local café in front of a park where he normally plays volley on Sundays (see plate 8.6). Men also related with colleagues of a variety of nationalities, including Spanish and a diversity of immigrant nationalities. During participant observation with the 'Spanish Commission for Refugee Help'⁷⁴ (CEAR), which is leading the campaign known as '*Madrid convive*' that aims to improve migrant integration in public spaces, and over an interview with Mercedes, the female leader at

⁷³ Ecua-volley is a volleyball variation that is widely played in Ecuador, and is so popular that it is played by migrants in the United States and Europe. Ecua-volley is played with two 3-player teams with a higher net (2.75m - 2.80m) and the use of a soccer ball. In this type of volleyball the basics are the same but you are allowed to slightly hold the ball in your hands before passing it.

⁷⁴ Spanish Commission for Refugee Help - *Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado* (CEAR for its Spanish acronym) website: <http://www.cear.es/> (February 14 2011)

the immigrant organisation *National Federation for Associations of Ecuadorians in Spain* (FENADEE),⁷⁵ they agreed that it was important to support women's integration into public spaces. The *Casa Ecuatoriana*, which later became known as FENADEE, was established specifically to aid Ecuadorian migrant's integration and exceptionally organise transnational politics in Spain. In Mercedes opinion Ecuadorian women, in comparison to men, had lower levels of presence in Madrid's public spaces because of the long work hours and their family responsibilities. To promote women's access to public spaces, Mercedes created the first Ecuadorian female football league (see plate 8.7).

Plate 8.6: Ecuador's popular volleyball game '*Ecuavolley*' in Madrid



Description: Photo downloaded from FENADEE website in 2008

⁷⁵ National Federation for Ecuadorian Associations in Spain - *Federación Nacional de Asociaciones de Ecuatorianos en España* (FENADEE) founded in 1998. See website: <http://www.nuevafenadee.org/> (February 14 2011)

Plate 8.7: First Ecuadorian Female Football League in Madrid



Description: Photo downloaded from FENADEE website in 2008

Family-Led Migration in Spain

Integration in the host society was largely marked by the family. Family-related migration has been traditionally neglected because of the emphasis in migration studies on the individual migrant worker. However, in the past two decade family-related migrations have become the subject of scholarly research, mainly using a transnational approach. An increasing number of authors are paying attention to the gendered aspects of the transnational family (Boehm, 2004 on Mexico; Elson, 1999; Gamburd, 2003 on Sri Lanka; Menjivar and Salcido, 2002 on the US; also see Chapter 7). When one speaks of family migration in the Spanish context, it refers to the nuclear family as defined by the state. It includes spouses and dependent children usually under the age of 18 years. Despite the significance of family migration, there has been little analysis on various issues. Amongst them is the gendered composition of family-led migration, the impact of migration on gender relations, and the position of various members of the family.

Spouse-Tied Migration

As discussed in Chapter 7, and contrary to research that highlights 'deficit' masculinities revolving around issues such as spousal and family desertion, this research found that it was more common for both, rather than one spouse, to move together or within a few months of each other (also see Datta *et al*, 2009). Reflecting this finding, the survey showed that spousal reunification was widespread with 81% couples living together in Madrid (see Chapter 4 for a profile of the households). With the exception of live-in domestic workers, couples lived in shared flats. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, domestic workers tended to move from live-in to live-out domestic service. In this study, and comparable to other nationalities, a common practice among Ecuadorian couples was to rent a room in a flat with friends or other immigrant families. For example, I interviewed Ernesto and his wife Olga in their apartment, and after sharing a typical Ecuadorian meal, they introduced me to a couple who lived in a room with their 2 children. This particular room, and similar to the other rooms I visited, was small and modestly equipped with a large family bed, television, desk, and a bureau (see also Colectivo loé, 2006 on migrants access to housing).

Through fieldwork the general perception among the respondents in the study was that spousal reunion in Spain was crucial for achieving the economic and family plans that motivated migration. Leticia, a Spanish woman with several years of experience of working with the Ecuadorian community in Madrid, invited me to participate in the Catholic Church's activities oriented to female migrant domestic workers. During the interview at the Church, Leticia explained in her own words: 'I think that Ecuadorian men and women have to focus on keeping their family together or else they cannot succeed in Spain'. During interviews, men and women suggested gender factors that influenced the construction of a family in Spain. Men prioritised rapid spousal reunification as a faster way to achieve the economic progress, and women were motivated by family reunion, mainly of their children. For men, conjugal unity was deeply rooted in economic needs to secure financial resources for the family, reflecting the deep-seated desire to adhere to the male breadwinning model. The low wages from carrying out feminised jobs coupled with the high cost of living, placed economic pressure on men when having to pay for the living expenses in Spain, credit cards payments, debts, remittances to Ecuador, and mortgages on flats (in Spain and/or Ecuador). After paying for the monthly expenses: 'I have no money left', explained Fabien who had a mortgage in Spain, and sent US \$450 every month to Ecuador to pay for the construction of a house, the monthly expenses of his three children, and the

salary of a domestic worker to look after his children. To counter these economic difficulties, men relied on reunification with their wives and for their wives to secure paid work in Spain as soon as they arrived. For example Sara, whose case was similar to that of other Ecuadorian women, narrated how her husband relied on her to move to Spain to economically get ahead in Spain there:

He came with the idea to stay for a short period of time, work, build a house and return to Ecuador, but in reality that never happened because when he arrived there were not so many opportunities for men, some of the time he was working and the other part he was unemployed, it was difficult for him. We had an unstable life until he started working with me, and our situation improved a lot. (May 2007, private accommodation)

Single male participants also voiced their preference to reunify with a female member of the family (mother, sister, cousin, etc) because of women's advantage to access the Spanish labour market and integrate into the wider community. Cecilio expressed the difficulties for a single man to meet the economic demands on his own: 'I am not doing very well but I have enough to pay rent, food and the basic necessities'. Ernesto, although himself married, commented on unmarried men's disadvantaged situation: 'For a single person it is difficult, unless you find a woman to help you out, or else it is extremely difficult'; and Joaquin plans to help his sister migrate to Spain because: 'Here there is more support for a woman, she [sister] would work, and together we would help one another to get somewhere'.

Effectively, men's dependence on women's income challenged their breadwinning authority. This was mostly manifested through the issues of alcoholism, violence, and infidelity (also see Gamburd 2003; Lutz 2008; McIlwaine 2008, 2010). During interviews these themes were frequently mentioned as widespread among Latin American men. Joaquin, a single man who migrated to help out his parents, sister and niece in Ecuador, believed that in Spain:

Men get corrupted and learn only bad habits, none are good. Some men, as well as women, learn to smoke and drink ... here in Spain no one learns anything good! (October 2007, local cafe, Madrid)

In a different case, Fabien's perception on alcohol was that 'This is a country with vices and it has given me vices to go out and drink *cañas*⁷⁶. I was leading a life of alcohol and smoking.' Additionally he believed that Ecuadorians were stereotyped as the migrant community that drank the most:

⁷⁶ To go out for a *caña*, or a beer, would be an English equivalent of a pint at a pub

My Spanish colleagues have told me: 'Wow, Ecuadorians like to drink, don't they?' I think its because of the depression from the way we have to live here and share a flat, that is very depressing. (October 2007, Centro Hispano-ecuatoriano offices)

This was especially relevant to Cecilio, aged thirty-two from the city of Guayaquil, also reinforced the notion that men turn to alcohol given the difficulties encountered to access the Spanish labour market when he first arrived to Spain:

I have friends that have fallen for drugs and alcohol and I understand them. There are people who have become addicts because they can't find a job. I thank God that I do not have those vices. I do not like to drink but there was a time that I felt my life was meaningless. Now with papers and work I feel worthy again. (October 2007, AESCO library)

Other men reflected upon prevailing discourses on masculinities and resisted being stereotyped. This was the case for Jabari who firmly stated: 'I do not get involved with people who are violent, drink, or take drugs. I do not participate in that, neither am I in agreement with it'. Male participants that did not engage in such practices felt isolated from their *paisanos* and colleagues. Various male participants lamented how their life was limited to going to work and then home, with little time for leisure or to make new friends.

It was also common for men to disapprove of Ecuadorian women's advantages with integration. The majority of migrant men agreed that women were negatively influenced by the culture of the host society and this often led to too much freedom or *libertinaje* (as referred to by the male migrants) (see also McIlwaine, 2010). According to Joaquin, a thirty-seven year-old single man, 'They [Ecuadorian women] do not come to Spain just to work and study, they think of sex and discotheques'. He expressed his surprise to see women smoking and going out to discotheques and then continued to critique them:

Here many homes are destroyed because women do whatever they want. They adapt to the system over here, they don't care about their husbands, their households, they go out and do whatever they want...here women are heads of households. (October 2007, local cafe, Madrid)

Similarly, in a focus group held in the month of October 2007 with three other women (Miriam, Leila, and Magda), Manolo was outspoken about the belief that Ecuadorian women in Spain were promiscuous: 'There are more women available; it just depends

on the men's willingness to be unfaithful'. Similarly, Diego, who first moved to Spain in 1998 to provide for his mother and grandmother as a dishwasher and cleaner in a restaurant, explained that over the course of nine years in Spain he witnessed changes in women's behaviour:

At first when Sunday arrived a lot of women would go out to drink or to unwind at a discotheque. I would go to the Latin discotheques and it would be full of women and saw things that they would never do in Ecuador...like get drunk. They did what they wanted because no one cared. But I think it was something of a phase. Now most of them have papers and are with their husbands and children. (October 2007, local cafe, Madrid)

According to Paola who works with recently arrived Latin American nationals at the ACCEM⁷⁷ office in Madrid, a national non-governmental organisation dedicated to immigrants and refugee's social and economic incorporation, conjugal violence was a problem among Ecuadorians in Spain. Some participants agreed that the pressures of living as a migrant, as well as women's advantages with integration, meant that domestic violence had increased while others said that domestic violence was more common in the migrants' home country, but that people were more aware of the issue and likely to talk about it in Spain (see also Menjivar and Salcido, 2002; McIlwaine, 2010). In comparison to the sending country, Ramon said: 'when a man abuses a woman here, she is protected, not like in Ecuador', in relation to his transnational daughter Denise being a victim of domestic violence. Although migrant women knew they were protected under the Spanish law, they complained of the inefficiency of the state to protect their rights (but see McIlwaine, 2008, 2010 on the UK). For example, Yuda, a victim of domestic violence herself, explained that she would spend her weekends at her sisters flat and one evening, there was an incident with her alcoholised brother-in-law:

When he was hitting me [brother-in-law] my sister screamed 'do not hit her, you will see tomorrow what she will do by going to the police'. After the incident I went to my employer's house with a black eye, and she told me to inform the police. I charged my brother-in-law with domestic violence but I never got a piece of paper or heard anything of it. It was as if nothing had happened. (November 2007, AESCO office, Madrid)

As a result, Yuda discontinued contact with her sister and brother-in-law which led to family disintegration and feelings of loneliness, and in her own words to 'suffering alone'. The manifestation of exaggerated masculinities through alcoholism, gender-

⁷⁷ ACCEM: <http://www.accem.es/>

based violence, and infidelity, did not always lead to family breakdown. This was the case of Fabien, who arrived to Spain three years before his wife, and confessed during an in-depth interview that he was unfaithful while living transnationally from his wife (see Chapter 7). In different cases, Hector and Ramon explained how in Ecuador they were also unfaithful but how they reformed as a family man through migration.

Nevertheless, women did not passively submit to exaggerated performances of masculinities. Instead, they repeatedly challenged such demonstrations of power, especially through the possibility of separating or divorcing. It was generally women who spoke of divorce as there were no decisions to end relationships from men. Rocio considered that in her experience of working at a 'Centre for Immigrant Social Attention' (CASI)⁷⁸, that there were gender problems in relation to violence, drugs and alcoholism within the Ecuadorian community in Spain, and it was generally women who decided to separate from their spouses. In Rocio's opinion, this was related to women's greater financial independence and because they experienced less social stigma than in Ecuador which allowed them to decide whether to leave their husbands more easily. For example, while talking to the female participant named Sara, she narrated how her husband got engaged in drug taking in Spain and her feelings of disappointment when she found out. In response, Sara gave her husband an ultimatum 'either you stop taking drugs or we get a divorce'. Or Lara, when interviewed at the Evangelical Church, said that she had learned self assurance to criticise her allegedly unfaithful husband with divorce: 'I gave him an ultimatum to reform or get divorced to me and our three children'.

Although the incidence of marital break-up was relatively low, undeniably, some women did go ahead with marital dissolution (also see Flowerdew and Al-Hamad, 2004 on Britain). First was the case of Judith, a discreet woman, who shyly explained that she found out in Spain that her husband had a relationship with another woman which was associated with their sentimental problems in Ecuador. This, together with the stresses she experienced as a newly arrived migrant, led to their divorce that same year. In a different case, Ramona, a thirty-two year-old woman, moved to Spain in 1998 to join her husband. He had a history of domestic violence in Ecuador but she was convinced that with migration her marriage would improve. During her first year in Spain, however, her husband got progressively violent. Ramona felt that migration escalated his violence but it also offered her the possibility to be economically

⁷⁸ CASI: Centro de Atención Social al Inmigrante

independent and the choice to get a divorce. The immigrant association of AESCO had a specific programme addressing domestic violence. However, Ramona preferred not to seek legal help and never told her friends and family. This was out of guilt, irregular legal status, and a lack of a social network to count on (also see Menjivar and Salcido, 2002; McIlwaine 2008, 2010). Years later, and after becoming a dual Ecuadorian-Spanish citizen, Ramona was a victim of sexual abuse by her employer. As explained in Chapter 6, Ramona went to the police to file charges against the employer and then scheduled an appointment in the hospital for medical and psychological examinations. Similar to the case of Yuda, Ramona also felt more protected under the Spanish law, but in the long-run the state was inefficient to protect her rights because she never heard back from the police, social worker, or from the hospital. In her own words: 'I went to the hospital to get tests done but they did not pay attention to me; they told me to wait for six months and I never heard back' (for similar situations see Jureidini and Moukarbel, 2004 and Abu-Habib, 1998 on Lebanon).

Children and Migration: Between Transnationalism and Reunification

An important aspect for women's settlement in the host society was the possibility for child reunification. Through my interviews, it emerged that women viewed transnational motherhood as only a temporary stage of the migratory process. They fostered a quick reunion with their children to achieve their goal: 'I came to get my children ahead and give them a better life' (*sacar adelante a mis hijos para darles una mejor vida acá*), mostly in terms of education, employment prospects, and family proximity. According to this study, 61% mothers and only 35% fathers were residential parents, which is a reflection of women's effort for family integration and men's preference for transnational fatherhood. Women's motivations to reunite with their children reflected their role as mothers, and at the same time, it challenged men's desire to adhere to the male breadwinning model in transnational spaces.

Some residential migrant mothers moved from Ecuador to Spain accompanied by their children. This was the case for Lillian who resorted to illegal emigration with her three children in order to reunite with her husband: 'I could not let go of my children and leave them behind in Ecuador', she explained. Others female participants prioritised a rapid child reunification out of concern for the negative reactions to female out-migration present in the country of origin. Sara believed that 'A child can have an absent father, but never a mother', reflecting the central figure that mothers play in

Latin American cultures. Lillian, although a residential mother, continued to explain how children could become resentful of mothers when left behind:

It would be so difficult to leave them behind: it would be as if I was abandoning them. What if later they loathe me or say you've abandoned me'. Since I have children, I want to suffer with them till the end and take them with me. October 12 2007, public park, Cobeña, Madrid)

Authorised child reunification from Spain was a slow and demanding process both economically and legally, and required the economic support of both spouses. When I met Olga and Ernesto, for example, they were planning on reunifying with their children after five years of separation. Olga, who initiated the reunification process of their two children, narrated the long process and strict conditions to comply with the prerequisite for reunification:

During our reunification process we were inspected and they wrote down that together we had enough solvencies and decent housing to bring our two children from Ecuador. This is because the two of us are together doing this! (October 2007, private accommodation, Madrid)

Olga's husband Ernesto then continued to stress men's crucial economic position in order to complete family reunification. For Ernesto, child reunion was only possible for couples:

For example, if one earns €1500 and reunification requires having a flat, then you subtract at least €800 for rent and €300 for food and nothing is left from her salary. It would be impossible to request child reunification by oneself! (October 2007, private accommodation, Madrid)

Yuda, a widower and transnational mother to three children, also echoed the impossibility for a single mother to reunify with her children:

If I had a husband, my children would already be here with me. But since I am alone there is now way I can manage child reunification on my own. Here they ask me for a house and I say, but on my own this is impossible! (November 2007, AESCO office, Madrid)

In this study, Emanuela, a single mother, was the exceptional case to achieve child reunification on her own. Through Emanuela's testimony it was clear that living transnationally and the extensive bureaucratic procedure to achieve child reunification, coupled with the difficulties in the labour market, was a particularly estranging experience for all parties. Emanuela moved to Spain in 1998 to provide for her son

Carlos who was left under the care of his biological father and step-mother. Over the course of six years, Emanuela was not able to visit him and the ties of affection and the channels of communication were difficult to sustain over time. The experience of reunion in Madrid was inevitably marked by distance between them. During the interview, Emanuela sadly confessed that when picking Carlos up at the airport she hardly recognised her own son and during the interview explained that they continue to struggle to achieve intimacy.

With child reunification, a crucial issue with regard to gender equality is the question of whether migration alters men's contributions to unpaid care work carried out in the home. In studies on gender and migration it is widely acknowledged that women are primarily responsible for household chores and tasks (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). During interviews, Ecuadorian women accepted that they were responsible for doing chores in the country of origin. Several women described the lengthy preparations for meals and the weekly walk down to the local river to wash the family's clothing in the cold water against the river rocks. With migration, however, studies point out that household chores and childcare continue to be considered women's work but men may be more involved (Jones Correa, 1998; McIlwaine 2010). Some male participants, for example, especially those who moved before their wives, learned to do household chores including cleaning and cooking:

In Ecuador I never did anything, my mother or wife did everything for me. In Spain my sister said 'every other day you have to sweep and clean the house'. I thought 'I came to a very bad place! I do not know how to cook or clean.' My sister insisted that if I wanted to eat, I would have to learn how to cook. So, I learned how to make noodle soup. Then when my wife came and was a live-in domestic, I realised I had to change and take it serious. I learned how to do everything, except ironing. At the beginning it was difficult, but now I am use to it. (Ernesto, October 2007, private accommodation)

While having little support from their extended family, female participants reported that they had the help of electronic machines (washing machines, dryers, dish washers, etc) and that men actually took on more household domestic and childcare responsibilities in Spain. Men participated for pragmatic reasons, such as both partners having to work. Hector illustrates:

In Ecuador she did not work, here we both work, and we help each other out in the house. I arrive home at 3:30 pm and start doing chores. For example I pick-up the children at 5pm, and when she comes at 6pm I have the dinner ready. Sometimes I help clean the house and iron. That way when she comes

home she does not have to do anything, she can come home and just rest. (November 2007, AESCO library)

Gabriel, a live-out domestic worker who reunited with his daughter, accepted these transformations and learned to do domestic chores:

In Ecuador my wife [Sara] would care only for me and my daughter. But when we arrived to Spain it was not just me working outside the home, it was both of us. Sara spoke with me about *machismo* and about not expecting her to continue doing all the household chores. For me it was not a problem, it was not difficult to react to our new situation because I said to myself 'Sara is working and I have to help her'. In fact at home I was the one who would cook because I would arrive home first. I would get home at 8pm and she would arrive at 10pm. It would be unspeakable to wait for my wife to arrive tired and have her cook for me. I could not do that! So I would get home to cook dinner and prepare food for the following day. I was the one who would cook at home [proudly]! But on Sundays I would be tired of cooking and ask Sara to cook for me so I could rest. To share domestic chores was not difficult. (May 17 2007, local cafe)

While men highlighted the positive side to changes in terms of some shifts in domestic responsibilities at the household level, they also set positive examples for other men who were more persistent in continuing to view household chores solely as women's work. Gabriel continues,

I know *paisanos* that have gotten divorced because they do not want to do domestic chores: I asked a friend, 'Why did you get divorced?' And he replied, "Because that woman wants me to do everything" and I told him 'you have to help her, men are in the obligation to help with the chores'. (ibid)

Nevertheless, men's contributions were viewed only as a form of 'help' rather than a sustainable shift in domestic responsibilities. In the case of Amelia and her husband, he did household chores only when she was ill or busy. Or Lillian, a mother of three children, believed that her husband participated more with the household chores in Spain than in Ecuador, but only as a form of help. 'He will never contribute in an equal form, never! He does not see if the house is dirty, or if the bathroom needs cleaning'. Although women may enjoy gains in the family, mainly with regard to child reunion, they were often at a disadvantage in negotiating domestic tasks in the household while expected to also work outside of the home.

Work-life Balance among Migrant Workers

In terms of childcare there was evidence of the creation of new gender inequalities. The majority of residential mothers were held solely responsible for childcare, as well as juggling paid work. As discussed in Chapter 2, Pessar (1994) shows that Dominican women in the US might choose to embrace the role of housewives if they had enough money to do so. Similar to this, Ecuadorian women in Spain aspired to be a stay-at-home mothers:

It's the woman who raises her children, I think this is good for the child, the child needs a mother ... and it's better if you yourself look after your children. (May 16 2007, McDonald's, Madrid)

However, it was impossible for women to be housewives due to the economic demands in Spain. In this sense, domestic work was seen a solution that was flexible enough to allow women to earn money and be responsible for childcare:

A woman should do domestic work here, maybe because there is nothing else but also because there are children—you can't abandon your child from the morning until night, can you? (Lillian, October 12 2007, public park, Cobeña, Madrid)

Like Lillian, Miriam arranged her job to be available for her children. She worked as an hourly cleaner so that she could be available for her two daughters before and after school. She spent the mornings preparing her daughters for school and then in the evenings collected them.

Women were responsible for childcare because they lacked the resources to access good quality childcare provision beyond the home. During the interviews, women were critical of the care system in Spain that placed children in the hands of strangers as opposed to the family. This system was different in Ecuador where they were used to relying on extended family to provide care for them. Datta et al (2006, 9) showed that migrant women in the UK outwardly drew on negative judgements of Northern women, and society in general, who 'abandon their children into the care of strangers so that they can pursue careers'. In the case of Ecuadorian women in Madrid, they stressed the poor quality of 'non-personalised' care through anecdotes of child accidents when in day care centres. Amelia, a mother to a one-year-old boy after moving to Spain, critiqued day care centres for not being sufficiently staffed, combined with a high

number of children, which could lead to improper supervision in terms of accidents and socialisation.

As a result, migrant women relied primarily on 'non-familial' and 'familial' options for child care. On the one hand, the most common non-family strategy was to rely on gendered networks (Wall and José, 2004; Datta *et al*, 2010). Lan (2003) notes how migrant women can be simultaneously 'maiden and maid', as they form female-centred care networks to arrange for childcare. Female networks could be among a female worker and a female neighbour who is in a more disadvantaged situation than themselves. In the example of Amelia, she left her son with a female neighbour in an irregular legal status, and in exchange paid her €100 per week. Amelia rationalised this exchange as a form of female solidarity: 'It is an income for her, we [women] all want to have an income'. Also in an exceptional case, Lillian, a resident mother of three children, combined both familial and non-familial childcare. She paid a carer €10/week for about 12 hours of childcare and in addition she counted on her sister, who worked nearby to collect her children. Lillian summarised the local female efforts: 'We [women] have made a chain to get my children ahead'. On the other hand, women also organised 'familial' care strategies by delegating child care among family members (Wall and José, 2004). Migrants have the right to bring grandparents but this practice was less common because of the demands to request family reunification. Exceptionally, for an elderly married woman like Maria, backed-up with the economic support from her husband and married daughter, it was a viable solution to ask her mother to come to Madrid to look after her great grandchildren. In a different case, Hector and his wife alternated work shifts so that the children could be cared for by both parents. Hector accommodated his work schedule as a cleaner and gardener in order to collect his children from school, help them with their school work, and cook dinner.

I feel very good with my job because I am with my children in the afternoons. When I am delayed they ring me and ask 'where are you?' I feel such happiness to have them call me, before I was so lonely, my wife and I only worked and would see one another at night time. (November 2007, AESCO library)

The case of Hector signals men's involvement in caring responsibilities and that there is a potential for modifying traditional patterns of childcare and to challenge women's ascribed roles of being sole carers of the young (see also Hochschild, 2003; Zontini, 2004). The majority of men, however, argued that they were pressured to work long hours with little time for involvement in their children's lives. In the particular case of

Diego, he worked every day of the week as a contract cleaner in order to send monthly remittances to his mother and uphold a family in Spain: 'I have a huge responsibility, I am not alone, I have a wife and child with me.... It is a lot of economic pressure and I've had to struggle.' The long and atypical working hours pressured his ability to be involved in his daughter's life:

One December my daughter asked me if I was going to spend Christmas with her. I told her I couldn't because I had to work. When I told her I wasn't going to spend it with her she got very sad. Then and there I wanted to give up my job because I could not spend time with my daughter, take her to a park, or do anything with her. (October 2007, local cafe, Madrid)

Finally, a form of family delegation of care was related to situations where children were left alone at home or looked after by other young children, also known as 'self-care' (Wall and José, 2004). Self-care occurred in the cases of single women who balanced their need to work with their caring responsibilities with no family support or when both parents worked long hours. In these cases women had no other choice; they had to take risks and leave their children alone. In the absence of a working mother, the eldest daughter of the household usually experiences the burdens of caring for younger siblings (Moscoso, 2008). The Director of the Centro Hispano-Ecuatoriano, a migrant association in Madrid, explained that through her work she found that young Ecuadorian children were left in vulnerable situations when unsupervised by adults. Unaccompanied children were a problem also according to the Centro Hispano-Ecuatoriano's social worker, who cited cases of children that were mistreated or abused by neighbours.

Migrant Children's Integration in Spain

Children who arrived with their migrant Ecuadorian parents, and the second generation born in the country, faced specific problems in terms of integration. In Spain there was also a lot of concern within the Ecuadorian communities about the effects of migration on children and youth (see Echeverri Buriticá, 2005). There were several organisations dedicated to improving children's integration by supporting them with a range of issues including schooling, legal matters, mental health, and providing after care programmes while parents worked long hours, to help avoid 'deviant lifestyles' grounded on teenage pregnancy, school drop outs, gangs, and the use of drugs and alcohol. Through interviews with key institutions in Spain (FENADEE and AESCO), representatives

explained that the programs were an attempt to help the migrants' children and the second generation:

Children arrive here and it is difficult. Some do not want to study and for others the change in the level of education is difficult and the parents do not have time to help them or even understand the schoolwork. The girls need support because there is a problem with teenage pregnancy and high rates of abortion. The boys need support too, they have spare time and hang out in the plazas with their friends. (June 4 2007, FENADEE office).

Residential migrant fathers, more so than mothers, were particularly concerned about children's integration in Spain. This was mostly related to challenging father's authority to secure financial resources for the family. During interviews men stressed the challenges of bringing up children in a foreign country by highlighting the poor socialisation of the youth in Spain, in comparison to leaving their children at home where they could be raised within cultural norms and expectations. Hector explains his challenges of fathering four children in Madrid:

The youth is damaged [in Spain] because they get along with people they shouldn't. In my country the youth is not like that: they go to school and then home, but here you hear so many bad things...I advised them [children] not to go out to the street, or hang around people that do not want to study. (November 2007, AESCO library)

Also, men were especially concerned with their daughter's sexuality:

I hear of young girls leaving discotheques in bad company. If those girls came to Spain, and their parents made all the sacrifices I did, it is not for a worse life. Imagine girls come and at seventeen years of age they have a child, and then can't study, and then they ruin themselves. I advise my daughter to have a boyfriend but to use her head...you have to come and study or work. If you do not study, you are going to work in the same thing your mother is working [as a domestic] (ibid).

Quique, although a transnational father, was very vocal about his disapproval on the above issues, and of Ecuadorian parenting skills in Spain:

When young people move to Spain parents think that they just have to give them 2 golden bracelets and a car, all the things that they could not give them back there. With easy access to material goods young people do not study and what they learned back home is not useful. Young people get together with bad friends, they don't study, and both girls and young women go out on Friday evening and don't come home until Sunday. This would never happen in my country! (October 2007, AESCO library)

He also took advantage of the interview to reinforce his preference for transnational fatherhood and advocate against children's migration:

For those children that are back home: do not move here, stay in the country and learn. That is the future, not coming here. You will then need to find work over there. (ibid)

Through my interviews with mothers, and despite the negative stereotypes and criticisms around child reunification and parenting from men and migrant associations, they were adamant with the view that fostering the integration of the family in Spain would actually offer children a better life and secure their future, mostly in terms of education, employment prospects, and family proximity.

Transnationalism, Return and Onward Migration

The idea of returning definitely to the country of origin has been indicated to be related to the gendered nature of integration in the host society. Fieldwork conducted by Pessar (1986) with Dominican immigrants in the US shows that adult men and women have different experiences with integration. On the one hand, women are more likely than men to stay in the country of destination by purchasing expensive durable goods and reunifying with children rather than saving money for their return home. On the contrary, Dominican men preferred to live in more austere conditions so that they can save money in order to assure their return to Dominican society (see also Jones Correa, 1998; Pessar, 1999). In this study, men focused on sustaining their links with the sending country through transnational linkages with their families in order to facilitate their return to Ecuador, although a couple of single migrants were interested in moving to other countries such as Germany, the UK, and the US. Downward occupational and social mobility was considered to be one of the key factors explaining why men are more inclined than women migrants to return to home countries where their status may be elevated due to their time abroad (also see Datta et al, 2009). On returning home, migrant men may quickly revert to the dominant gender ideologies of their home place and present themselves as 'successful' migrants (Boehm 2004; Pribilsky 2004). Ecuadorian women in particular deemed children as the future decision-makers in terms of migration (see also Moscoso, 2010). During interviews mothers agreed that 'Once my children are settled in Spain, and finish their education, they will decide whether to stay here or go back'. When I asked Lara about her future migration plans she clearly summarised 'That decision will be my children's, not mine' whereas fathers planned to return to Ecuador in the short-run or after their children grew-up.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted an emerging Ecuadorian transnational community in Spain. There were large numbers of associations, businesses, religious services, and media that aid their social and economic integration. Men and women were involved in activities oriented towards their new place of settlement but interestingly, at this stage of the migratory process, they emphasised on the importance of their private family relationships through spousal and child reunification for sustaining transnational activities, as well as settlement.

In the first case, and contrary to studies that show how migration leads to the breakdown of the family, marriage proved to be highly resilient among Ecuadorian migrant men and women. This is related to the general downward social and occupational mobility experienced by both men and women, but more frequently highlighted by male participants (also see Datta *et al*, 2009; Pribilsky, 2004). Husbands and wives forged strong marital units by ascribing to hegemonic gender roles and ideologies brought with them from Ecuador. Women foresaw marriage as a means to achieve child reunification in Madrid with the support of their husbands. Men, who work in non-traditional occupations, found it difficult to fulfil the role of economic provider for the family and therefore beared these burdens by forging a strong conjugal unit based on a dual income to sustain stronger economic and social links with the country of origin.

In the second case, and in comparison, male and female migrant workers had different experiences with child reunification. On the one hand, studies on men and migration have tended to revolve around two uncompromising notions. Migrant men have either been considered in terms of 'deficit' masculinities, relating to issues of family desertion, or through 'hyper-masculinities', associated with gender violence (see Datta *et al*, 2009). This chapter has sought to contribute to understanding on how migrant men's experiences are highly variable (Datta *et al*, 2009). First, men were mostly marginalised from residential fatherhood, and lived afar from their children. Second, some men helped with housework, which reflects modest changes in gender roles and relations. However, the temporality of such changes has been pointed out by various authors (Boehm, 2004 on Mexico; Elson, 1999; Gamburd, 2003 on Sri Lanka; Menjivar and Salcido, 2002 on the US). On the other hand, it is also necessary to problematise overemphasising transnational motherhood in the field of gender and transnational migration because it disguises gender inequalities in balancing work and childcare

arrangements in Spain, after family reunification. Women were quicker to reunify with children but these responsibilities militated against them. Most migrant mothers found it particularly difficult to manage work and proper childcare for their own children. Women were often at a disadvantage in negotiating childcare and domestic tasks in the household, and family responsibilities often prevented them from working more hours or improving their labour-market standing. This was coupled with the difficulties in accessing day care centres which highlights the ironic fact that Ecuadorians provided cleaning, and to a less degree caring, services in Spain, but found it difficult to access care for their families in the host society. Female participants were also left to rely on female networks, on women in less privileged situation than themselves, or in the most vulnerable case, children were left without proper supervision, unprotected, or burdened the eldest daughter.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusions

Men and women are moving, working, and sustaining family relationships in a highly globalised world. To understand further the ways male and female migrant workers reconfigure their lives and social and economic relations through migration this thesis has explored the case of Ecuadorian migrant domestic and cleaning workers in Madrid and gendered nature of their transnational linkages with the country of origin.

The main conceptual objective of this research was to address how gender roles, relations and identities among men and women transformed throughout the migratory process. Taking into consideration the most recent conceptualisation of gender and international migration research, and men and migration, this study set out to contribute to the transnational approach by considering the experiences of female migrants in conjunction with male migrants. More specifically, it examined the working and living experiences of male and female domestic and contract cleaners, and critically assessed the utility of transnational analysis in understanding the experiences of these migrants in relation to the workplace and with family reconciliation.

Empirically, the thesis provided a gendered analysis of the experiences of Ecuadorian migrant workers in Madrid who are a recent and still under-studies migrant group in Spain. It contributes, on the one hand, to the growing literature on migration by examining the experiences of a group of Latin American migrants in a context that is different from the US experience that tends to dominate existing academic literature. On the other hand, it responds to calls for more empirical research that examines the relations between women and men at a transnational level and how these are constructed across national boundaries (Pessar, 1999; Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

Re-thinking Gender and Transnational Migration

This study has sought to link research on both gender and transnational migration with a perspective on men and masculinities in order to understand the role of migrant men in feminised work in the country of destination and its effects on sustaining transnational ties with the country of origin, especially in relation to transnational families and family reunification. Research on men and masculinities in particular

remains under-studied, not least the role of migrant gender identities in these processes. In order to accommodate migrant men in a gendered and transnational migration analysis, this research has made several conceptual contributions.

One major issue to emerge from my research is the need to include the experiences of men within the transnational approach as part of the growing recognition of male migration in understanding wider processes of gender transformations (Datta *et al.*, 2009; McKay, 2007; McIlwaine, 2010). To take this into consideration, the gendered and transnational analysis needs to be conceptually disaggregated along the following lines:

First, in order to illustrate how men's experiences are comparable with that of women, this study reinforces the need to highlight gender differences in the labour market. Moving beyond the Global Care Chain (GCC) approach which focuses on the globalisation of migrant women's care work, my current approach suggests that analysis of migrant workers' experiences in the labour market can benefit from recognising the diversity of feminised work and tasks that are provided by both migrant men and women and in a wide range of settings. For instance, domestic work and contract cleaning can be carried out in private spaces, public spaces, a combination of private-public, and 'semi-public' places (Evans *et al.*, 2005; McIlwaine *et al.*, 2006; Yeates, 2005).

Second, this research argues that the globalisation of the family can be better understood from the perspective of a transnational analysis by differentiating the contexts in which families are constructed. On the one hand, transnational family formations, maintained largely through individual connections, need to incorporate men's 'mobile' identities to understand how they may 'differ sharply in the several places they live' (Datta *et al.*, 2006, 6). On the other hand, the transnational approach tends to neglect family responsibilities in the receiving society which raises important issues in relation to the work-life balance in Spain, mainly in relation to women and children.

Third, research on the transnational family revolves around the negative effects on women and children in the country of origin. For example, non-migrant women, or other mothers, are largely responsible for childcare in sending countries (Parreñas, 2001, 2005; Schmalzbauer, 2004). However, I argue that it needs to broaden its application to consider the outsourcing of childcare to a range of female's relatives in

the immediate and wider family networks, which is also closely related to their own position in the labour market and work-life balance.

Key Empirical Findings

This research illustrates that the participation of Ecuadorians in international migratory flows escalated in the late 1990s through a process of social and religious chain migration in response to an economic and social crisis in Ecuador, and to unskilled labour demands and immigration legislation for employment and family reunification in Spain. In this context, the following empirical findings show that migrant men are an integral part of any gender and transnational analysis.

When including men in a transnational analysis, my research shows that the migration was far from being as uniformly economically and socially exploitative of women, as suggested in studies (for example, Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Hochschild, 2000). With regard to the labour market, Chapter 6 shows that migrant men's presence in feminised employment reinforced the gender division of paid labour, much to the detriment of migrant women. On the one hand, migrant women had preferential access to domestic employment but they were actually in a more disadvantaged position than men since they received lower wages and had a limited range of jobs available to them. Men, in contrast, negotiated access to female jobs, but once in these lines of work, they professionalised their jobs in ways which translated into higher pay and in the long-run, they created more opportunities for moving beyond domestic work and diversifying or improving their employment status in contract cleaning or other areas of the labour market.

My research emphasises the need to understand migrant workers' gender identities in relation to family formation, which can be carried out transnationally or locally or invariably both. With regard to the family, Chapters 7 and 8 show that the construction of family life is influenced by traditional gender relations and identities mainly inherited from the country of origin. In the case of Ecuadorians in Spain, for instance, men's identity as the economic provider for the family and women's role as wife and mother remained relevant to family formation. On the one hand, men's inferior occupational status in Spain, compared to Ecuador, characterised by low wages coupled with the high cost of living, pressured men to quickly consolidate spousal reunification as a way to 'get ahead' in Spain. With regard to reuniting with their children, however, they viewed transnational spaces as an opportunity to be a 'transnational father', which was

understood through being a breadwinner for their children in the country of origin as a way to protect their social privileges in Ecuador. On the other hand, women's traditional role in the family influenced their decision to quickly achieve or strive for both residential conjugality and motherhood. Women's priority for child reunification agrees with evidence from other research that suggests women are more involved in family formation oriented towards their new place of settlement (Herrera, 2001; Salimbeni, 2004; see also Bodoque and Soronellas, 2003; Kim, 2009; Piper, 2005; Plambeck, 2008; Robinson, 1996 on other contexts). Rather than suggesting that settlement may imply greater gender advances for women, and without neglecting some changes in men's participation in the household, residential motherhood brought to the forefront inequalities among migrant women in terms of childcare responsibilities in Spain, and how transformations towards more equal gender relations were limited (see also Wall and Jose, 2002).

In terms of the gendered nature of transnational linkages, empirical findings from my research show that Ecuadorian migrant workers were strongly connected to their country of origin. In general, they engaged in individual rather than collective transnational activities. These were manifested mainly through frequent family contact and sending of remittances, both of which form part of relations that links migrants' participation in the family on a transnational basis. Although studies show that women participate more actively in maintaining family relations through transnational motherhood (see for example Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1997), my research found that men, who work in non-traditional occupations found it difficult to fulfil the role of economic provider for the family and therefore bore these burdens by forging a strong conjugal unit based on a dual income in the receiving society. They maintained family ties as transnational fathers for longer periods of time as a way to protect or gain the status and privileges that migration itself has challenged (see for example Bustamante and Aleman, 2007; Pribilsky, 2004).

With regard to the transnational family from the perspective of Ecuador, this research illustrates that migrant families were actively involved in a variety of transnational practices which reinforced an unequal gender balance of power. Through interviews in Ecuador, although the sample did not aim to be representative, it was clear that 'other mothers' formed part of the global trends in the feminisation of care provision within families, remittances from migrant workers were a contribution to the household income, rather than a full sustenance for families in the country of origin, and a wide range of female relatives in the immediate and wider family networks provided unpaid

care in the country of origin, while they also juggled their own employment in the labour markets.

To sum up the conceptual and empirical findings, when analysing how migrant male and female workers constructed and negotiated identities at a transnational level, it was found that much to their detriment, there were few possibilities for gender empowerment in the labour market. Women found themselves with limited possibilities to move toward more equal gender relations when working in lower end positions in domestic service and contract cleaning. Thus, women were marginalised throughout the migratory process for participating in the exploitative labour market and in relation to migrant male workers. Although migrant men obtained a higher status than women when performing domestic work and contract cleaning, they were not much better off in either the labour market or family. Men were disempowered from working in feminised jobs and forming dual income conjugal units, and were largely marginalised from residential fatherhood and from the wider society due to their being a migrant of a minority ethnic group in the receiving country. Migrant women, on the other hand, were unable to achieve a work-life balance in Madrid, but gained improved status in the family through child reunification, which may be considered a traditional role, but offered them some degree of empowerment during their experience abroad.

Future Research

Considering that global inequalities between the Global North and Global South persist, and cleaning work is a growing sector worldwide, and it is most likely that there will be growing demand for migrant male and female workers to continue to meet the occupational gap, this study advocates the need for future studies to use a gendered analysis when addressing transnational migration in countries of origin and of settlement. Migrant men and women who participate in the international migratory flows to the Global North need to have improved working conditions, and studies should focus on having their skills recognised, as well as support for their movement into a wider range of work.

With regard to family migration, there is a need to continue to problematise the transnational family, and create further awareness of family reunification in the country of settlement, mainly in terms of providing better access and quality childcare services for migrant workers. Also, from the stance of the country of origin, more attention is required to those who are also burdened by out-migration, combined with a lack of

social protection, and experience more family and labour market responsibilities. The levels of integration and settlement of migrant workers in Spain will also have an impact on prospects for the current and second generation migrants. There is also a need for a closer and more in-depth examination of the effects of family reunification on migrant labour market patterns, as well as the feminisation of childcare in the country of origin and settlement. It is crucial to note that this thesis discusses migrant men's and women's descriptions of their relationships with their children and future plans, but not children's assessments. Without consideration of the children's perspective it is not possible to evaluate their future plans. It should be noted that future studies must incorporate the children's perceptions more fully in order to evaluate their future plans (see for example Chavez and Menjivar, 2010 on Mexican and Central American children; Moscoso, 2010 on Ecuadorian children).

In the particular case of Ecuadorians in Spain, the migration abroad in large numbers is a relatively recent phenomenon and there is the need to learn more about it. Since it is a transnational community that is continuously evolving, some of the findings in the current research can help illuminate some of the areas that have been neglected. Studies need to continue to address their evolving levels of transnationalism, and the effects during times of economic growth, as well as during crisis periods. Finally, future studies should also examine the roles that Ecuadorian migrants play in the wider political, economic, and social development of Spain vis-à-vis other factors, such as social class, ethnicity, race, age, nationality, etc.

The answer to some of these questions will be partly related to what happens in Ecuador, including its development process and hopes for advancement in terms of men and women's social and economic equality in general. In the context of the study of gender and migration, one questions what are the long-term effects of migration on the family, mainly on non-migrant women and children, and what roles will Ecuadorian migrants play in the wider political, economic, and social development of the country. In addition, how can gender factors be better integrated into this process? This thesis has set out to illuminate some of the areas that have been neglected to date and provide a pathway to further much needed gender analysis on Ecuadorian transnational migrants in Spain.

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APPENDIX 1: Survey for Migrant Workers in Madrid

PROFILE			
1. Sex			
2. Which is your town/city of birth in Ecuador?			
3. How old are you?			
1. 18-25	2. 26-35	3. 36-45	
4. 46-55	5. 56-65	6. 65+	
4. Where did you live before moving to Spain?			
5. What was your main activity in Ecuador?			
1. Salaried		2. Unemployed	
4. Housewife		5. Student	
		3. Own business	
		6. Other	
6. What is the highest level of education you have attained?			
1. None		2. Primary	
5. University		3. Secondary	
		4. Technical	
7. Which date did you first arrive to Spain? _____			
8. Why did you first come to Spain?			
1. Work		2. Studies	
4. Better life		5. More opportunities	
		3. Family reunification	
		6. Care for own family	
		7. Other	
EMPLOYMENT			
9. You currently work as a ... ?			
1. Domestic:		2. Cleaner:	
1a. Live-in		2a. Hotel	
1b. Live-out		2b. Office	
1c. Hourly		2c. Restaurant	
1d. Gardener		2d. Transport	
		2e. Hospital/elderly home	
		2f. School	
		2g. Business	
		2h. Other	
10. Do you have other jobs apart from your current job?			
1. Yes:			
1a. What other job/s do you do?		_____	
1b. What other job/s do you do?		_____	
2. No			
11. How did you find out about your job?			
1. Family/friend of the same nationality		2. Job placement agency	
3. Advert		4. Family/friend of a different nationality	
5. Other (specify) _____			
12. Are you currently employed through a ...?			
1. Private employer		2. Recruitment agency	
3. Subcontractor		4. Other (specify) _____	
13. What is your work schedule?			
1. Monday		2. Tuesday	
4. Thursday		3. Wednesday	
		6. Saturday	
		7. Sunday	
14. How many hours do your work per week? _____			
15. What are your work hours?			
1. <i>Madrugada</i>		2. Morning _____	
		3. Afternoons _____	
		4. Night shift	
16. How much do your earn per week? _____			
1. Less €300		2. €301-600	
5. €1001-1200		3. €601-800	
6. +€1200		4. €800-1000	
		7. NA	
17. Do you, or your employer, contribute to your Social Security?			
1. Yes 2. No			
18. Do you have a written contract?			
1. Yes:		1a. Temporary	
		2. No	
		3. Do not know	
		1b. Indefinite	
19. What are your tasks at your job?			
1. Clean house		2. Wash clothes	
4. Cook		3. Buy food	
7. Chauffeur		5. Butler	
10. Care for children		6. Gardener	
		8. Server	
		9. Take children to school	
		11. Care for elderly	
		12. Supervisor	

13. Other																									
20. Did you receive training? What sort and from whom?																									
21. What do you like about this job? 1. Convenient location 2. Work environment 3. Colleagues 4. Housing 5. Employer/supervisor 6. Working hours 7. Possibility for amnesty 8. Tasks 9. Pay 10. S.S. 11. Other (specify) _____																									
22. What don't you like about this job? 1. Convenient location 2. Work environment 3. Colleagues 4. Housing 5. Employer/supervisor 6. Working hours 7. Pay 8. Tasks 9. S.S. 10. Other (specify) _____																									
23. Do you consider your work 1. Easy 2. Tiring 3. Exhausting 4. Difficult 5. Strenuous																									
24. How long have you worked with your employer/s or supervisor/s? 1. Employer # 1 _____ (months) _____ (Years) 2. Employer # 2 _____ (months) _____ (Years)																									
25. Have you ever had problems with your employer/s or supervisor/s? 1. Yes: 1a. Holidays 1b. Day off 1c. SS 1d. Papeles 1e. Pay 1f. Contract 1g. Tasks 1h. Violence 1i. Laid-off 1j. Other 2. No																									
26. Do you work with other people? 1. Yes 2. No (go to 28)																									
27. What are your colleague's nationalities? 1. Ecuadorian 2. Nationality 1: _____ 3. Nationality 2: _____ 4. Nationality 3: _____																									
28. What other jobs have you done since in Spain? 1. Job 1 2. Job 2: _____ 3. Job 3: _____ 4. None																									
29. What is your current immigration situation? 1. Residency permit 2. Residency and work permit 3. Irregular with work 4. Dual national (go to 29a) 5. Waiting renovation 6. NA																									
29a. Do you vote in Spain? 1. Yes 2. No																									
HOUSEHOLD																									
30. What is your civil status? 1. Single 2. Cohabitation 3. Married 4. Separated 5. Divorced 6.. Widowed																									
31. Where does your spouse live?																									
32. Do you have children? 1. Yes _____ (#) 2. No (go to 34)																									
33. Where do your children live? 1. Madrid 2. Ecuador 3. Other																									
34. How many people live with you in Madrid? _____																									
35. Please make a list of the family members that live with you in Madrid.																									
<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Relationship</th> <th>Age</th> <th>Occupation</th> <th>Time in Madrid</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Person 1:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Person 2:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Person 3:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Person 4:</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Relationship	Age	Occupation	Time in Madrid	Person 1:					Person 2:					Person 3:					Person 4:				
	Relationship	Age	Occupation	Time in Madrid																					
Person 1:																									
Person 2:																									
Person 3:																									
Person 4:																									
36. Do you have family in Madrid that live in a separate household? 1. Yes: 1a. Child 2. No 1b. Spouse 1c. Parent 1d. Sibling 1e. Other																									

37. Do you have a house in Ecuador?			
1. Yes:		2. No	
	Relationship	Age	Occupation
Person 1:			
Person 2:			
Person 3:			
Person 4:			

38. Do you communicate with your family in Ecuador?	
1. Yes, by:	2. No
1a. Telephone	
1b. Email	
1c. Visits	
1d. Other _____	

39. How frequently do you communicate with your family in Ecuador?	
1. Telephone /Email:	2. Visits
1a. Once a day	2a. Every year
1b. Once a week	2b. Every 2-3 yrs
1c. Twice a week	2c. Every 4-5 yrs
1d. Once a month	2d. + 5 yrs
1e. Every 6 months	

40. Do you send money to Ecuador?	
1. Yes:	2. No
1a. Every month	
1b. Every 2-3 months	
1c. Every 4-6 months	
1d. Once a year	
1e. Other _____	

41. On average, how much money do you send per month?		
1. Less €100	2. €101-300	3. €301-600
4. €601-900	5. €901-1200	6. + €1200

42. How do you send money to relatives or friends in Ecuador?		
1. Bank	2. Remittance agency	3. <i>Locutorio</i>
4. Travel agency	5. <i>Encargo</i>	6. Other

43. On whom is the money spent in Ecuador?		
1. Parent	2. Spouse	3. Sibling
4. Child	5. Grandchild	6. Other

44. How is the money spent?		
1. Education of _____	2. Food	3. Medical expenses
4. Rent	5. Clothes	6. Celebrations
7. Built house	8. Savings	9. Business
10. Loans	11. Comm. Proj.	12. Other

45. Who receives the money in Ecuador?		
1. Parent	2. Spouse	3. Sibling
4. Child	5. Grandchild	6. Daughter in laws
7. Parent in law	8. Sibling in law	9. Niece
10. Other		

46. From Madrid, how do you manage the money?	
1. Yes	2. No
1a. Telephone	
1b. Email	
1c. Joint bank account	
1d. Receipts	

47. Do you send money to relatives or friends in any other country?	
1. Yes	2. No

48. Which country do you send money?	
---	--

49. On average, how much money do you send per month?		
1. Less €100	2. €101-300	3. €301-600
4. €601-900	5. €901-1200	6. + €1200

50. On whom is the money spent in Ecuador?		
1. Parent	2. Spouse	3. Sibling
4. Child	5. Grandchild	6. Other

51. How is the money spent?		
1. Education of _____	2. Food	3. Medical expenses
4. Rent	5. Clothes	6. Celebrations
7. Built house	8. Savings	9. Business
10. Loans	11. Comm. Proj.	12. Other
52. Who receives the money in Ecuador?		
1. Parent	2. Spouse	3. Sibling
4. Child	5. Grandchild	6. Daughter in laws
7. Parent in law	8. Sibling in law	9. Niece
10. Other		
53. Are other members of your family working overseas?		
1. Yes, 1a. Parent	2. No	
1b. Spouse		
1c. Sibling		
1d. Child		
1e. Grandchild		
1f. Other		
54. Where does your family member work? _____		
COMMUNITY		
55. Are you a member of an organisation or institution in Spain?		
11. Yes,	1a. Migrant association	2. No
	1b. NGO	
	1c. Trade Union	
	1d. Church _____	
	1e. Sporting club	
	1f. Political org	
	1g. Other _____	
56. When you have problems, who do you go to?		
1. Yes, 1a. Migrant association	2. No problems	
1b. Trade Union		
1d. Church _____		
1e. Friend/family		
1f. Lawyer		
1g. Other _____		
57. How do the Spanish view the Ecuadorian group?		
1. Mestizo	2. White	3. Afro-ecua
4. Mulato	5. Indigenous	6. Other
		7. NA
58. How would you define yourself?		
1. Mestizo	2. White	3. Afro-ecua
4. Mulato	5. Indigenous	6. Other
		7. NA
59. Are you a member of an organisation or institution in Ecuador?		
11. Yes,	1a. Migrant association	2. No
	1b. NGO	
	1c. Trade Union	
	1d. Church _____	
	1e. Sporting club	
	1f. Political org	
1g. Other _____		
60. From Spain, did you vote in the Ecuadorian presidential elections in the year 2006?		
1. Yes	2. No	
FUTURE PLANS		
61. Do you plan on returning to Ecuador?		
1. Yes: 1a. 1 year	2. No	3. Do not know
1b. 5 years		
1c. 6-10 years		
1d. When I retire		
62. Will you move to another city or country?		
1. Yes	2. No (go to 65)	
63. Which city or country?		
64. Why do you plan on moving?		

1. Work	2. Studies	3. Family reunification
4. Better life	5. More opportunities	6. Care for own family
7. Other		
65. Will a family member/s in Ecuador come to live in Spain?		
1. Yes 2. No (go to 68)		
66. Which family member will join you?		
1. Parent	2. Spouse	3. Sibling
4. Child	5. Other	
67. Why is your family member planing on moving?		
1. Work	2. Studies	3. Family reunification
4. Better life	5. More opportunities	6. Care for own family
7. Other		
68. Which aspect of your life in Spain could improve?		
1. Pay	2. Job security	3. More jobs
4. Family life	5. Housing	6. Education/continued edu.
7. <i>Papeles</i>	8. Community	9. Other
Would you be prepared to take part in a follow-up interview?		
Name, phone number, agreed date, time and place:		
THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP AND TIME		

APPENDIX 2: Interview Guide to Migrant Workers in Madrid

1. Migration history

- a. When and how did you first contemplate coming to Madrid?
- b. What reasons did you leave Ecuador?
- c. Why did you choose Madrid?
- d. When you came, did you already have relatives or friends in Madrid?
- e. What type of help, if any, did you receive?

2. Work experience

- a. Past occupations
 - i. What was your first job when you arrived to Madrid?
 - ii. How did you find your first job?
 - iii. How long did it take to find your first job?
 - iv. Did you change job or employer since you first arrived?
- b. Present occupation
 - i. What is a typical work day like?
 - ii. What do you like about this job?
 - iii. What don't you like about this job?
- c. Stereotyping
 - i. Why do you think your employer hired you?
 - ii. What positive aspects do you bring to your job?
 - iii. How are you different from other domestic workers?
- d. Employer/employee relationship
 - i. How do your employer(s)/supervisor treat you?
 - ii. What do you like about your current employer(s)/supervisor?
 - iii. What do you dislike about your current employer(s)/supervisor?
 - iv. Do your employer(s)/supervisor treat your colleagues of other nationalities differently?
 - v. If colleagues, does your employer(s)/supervisor treat your colleagues of the opposite gender or different nationality differently?
- e. Gender
 - i. What are the main differences between the tasks and work of a female and male domestic worker/cleaner?
 - ii. How do you treat colleagues of the same/opposite gender?
 - iii. What are the advantages/disadvantages of working with a person of the same or opposite gender?
 - iv. How do you treat colleagues of the same/different nationality?
 - v. What are the advantages/disadvantages of working with a person of the same or different nationality?

3. Family life

- a. How do you maintain a family life in Madrid?
 - i. If spouse: how do you balance conjugal life with your work life?
 - ii. If children: how do you balance parental life with your work life?
- b. How do you maintain a family life in Ecuador?
 - i. If spouse: how do you balance conjugal life across borders?
 - ii. If children: how do you balance parental life across borders?
- c. What is the most difficult aspect in terms of balancing work and family life?
- d. What is the best aspect in terms of work and family life?

4. Community practices

- a. Do you have the opportunity to participate in community activities?
- b. Do you feel part of a community? What is it like?
- c. Do you trust other Ecuadorians?
- d. What do you like about this community/society?
- e. Does any kind of discrimination exist here? What is it like?

5. Future plans

- a. What are your future plans in terms of work, family reunification, return, etc.?
- b. Anything else you want to add
- c. Do you have any questions
- d. Do you know how I could contact other Ecuadorians who could be interested in participating in this project?

APPENDIX 3: List of Key Informants and Employers in Madrid

Institution	Sector	Description of the key respondent
Universidad Complutense de Madrid	Academia	Middle-aged Spanish woman, expert on Latin American migration to Spain
America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation (AESCO)	Migrant Association	Young, middle-class, Ecuadorian male, and representative of AESCO
Caritas Espanola	NGO/Catholic Church	Middle-aged Spanish female, social worker, and experience working with immigrant populations
Pentecostal Church	Evangelical Church	Middle-aged US male, and Pastor of the Church
Religious of Mary Immaculate	Catholic Church	Middle-aged Spanish woman, social worker, and experience working with migrant female domestic workers
Religious of Mary Immaculate	Catholic Church	Elderly Spanish nun, Spanish native, social worker, and experience working with migrant female domestic workers
Asuntos precarios	Civil Society	Young, middle-class, Ecuadorian women, and experience working with migrant female domestic workers
Plataforma de trabajo del hogar 'PATH'	Civil Society	Middle-aged Spanish woman, social activist and advocate for improving migrant female working and living rights.
Locutorio	Private business	Middle-aged male, entrepreneur, and owner of a popular locutorio where migrants frequently remitted money and used the internet, telephone, etc.
Spanish Commission for Refugee Help (CEAR)	International Organisation	Young, middle-class, Colombian women, and leader of the campaign ' <i>Madrid convive</i> ' for improving migrant's integration in public spaces
Workers General Union	Trade Union	Middle-aged Spanish woman, and advocate for improving migrants working rights.
Colectivo Ioe	Academic and policy-making	Middle-aged Spanish man, academic, and advocate for improving migrants working and living conditions.
Ecuadorian Embassy	Government	Ecuadorian male government official
National Federation of Association for Ecuadorians in Spain (FENADEE)	Migrant Association	Middle-aged Ecuadorian woman, and advocate for improving Ecuadorian migrants working and living conditions.
Hispanic-Ecuadorian Centre	Migrant Association	Middle-aged Ecuadorian woman, social worker, experience working with migrants populations in Spain, mainly with children and adolescents

APPENDIX 4: Interview Guide to Transnational Families in Ecuador

1. Migration history

- a. When did your family member leave Ecuador?
- b. What role did you play in that decision?
- c. Why did he/she leave Ecuador?
- d. Why did he/she choose Madrid?
- e. Before migrating, did you receive any help to leave Ecuador?
- f. How did he/she pay for the travel expenses?
- g. Before migrating, did you have any info about being a migrant in Spain?
- h. Did your family member have any inconvenience?
- i. Once in Spain, did your family member receive any help, from whom, and what type?
- j. In your opinion, is it easier for men or woman to migrate?
- k. What are your general thoughts about migrating

2. Work experience

- a. What do you work in?
- b. What do you know about your family members job in Spain?
- c. Why does he/she do care work?
- d. Is that the line of work you expected for him/her?
- e. How do you feel about that line of work?
- f. How is care work seen from Ecuador
- g. What do you work in?
- h. Employer/employee relationship/legal status
 - i. What do you know about the employer-employee relationship in care work in Spain?
 - ii. How is your family member treated?
 - iii. Has the employer aided your family member's *papeles*?
 - iv. What do you like about your current employer(s)/supervisor?
 - v. What are the difficulties of not having papeles
 - vi. After your family member got papeles, how has your life changed in Ecuador?

3. Family life

- a. Spousal life
 - a. How does the distance affect spousal life?
 - b. What does it mean to be a transnational conjugal?
 - c. How do you maintain your role as a spouse?
 - d. How has your conjugal life changes?
 - e. What sort of new responsibilities do you now have?
 - f. Do you plan on moving to Spain?
- b. Transnational parents
 - a. How does the distance affect parental life?
 - b. What does it mean to be a transnational parent?
 - c. How do you maintain your role as a parent?
 - d. How has your parental life changed?
 - e. What sort of new responsibilities do you now have?

- f. Do you plan on moving to Spain?
- c. Transnational child
 - a. How does the distance affect being a son/daughter?
 - b. What does it mean to be a transnational son/daughter?
 - c. How do you maintain your role as a son/daughter?
 - d. How has your life changed in your parents absence?
 - e. What sort of new responsibilities do you now have?
 - f. Do you plan on moving to Spain?

Transnational activities:

4. Communication

- a. How do you communicate with your family member?
- b. How often?
- c. Which family member do you speak the most with?
- d. How has the communication changed – what do you talk about?
- e. What things do you tell about Ecuador? Your life? The family...
- f. What does your family member tell you about Spain, work, friends, family
- g. How do you imagine Spain?

5. Remittances

- a. Do you receive remittances from Spain?
- b. How often?
- c. What is it used for?
- d. Does the hh depend on the money?
- e. How are the expenses organised between Spain and Ecuador?
- f. Have there ever been problems?
- g. How do you feel receiving remittances?
- h. Are there differences in receiving money from a man or a woman?
- i. Do woman send more money?
- j. Do you send anything to Spain?

6. Politics

- a. What do you think about allowing Ecuadorians abroad to vote?
- b. Did your family member vote in 2006?
- c. Do you tell your family member anything about politics?
- d. How would you like to change Ecuadorian politics?

7. Community

- a. Do you participate in local community activities?
- b. Do you feel part of a community? What is it like?
- c. Are there differences in participation among men and women?
- d. Does any kind of discrimination exist here? What is it like?
- e. Do you think discrimination exists in Spain?
- f. What do you think of the immigrants in Ecuador? Do you know Colombians or Peruvians?

8. Future plans

- a. Why do you think Ecuadorians leave the country?
- b. Why Spain?

- c. Is your family members life what they expected?
- d. Do you think you are better off in Spain or in Ecuador?
- e. Does your family member plan on returning?
- f. What would you improve in Ecuador, or in Spain?
- g. What are you future plans in terms of work, family reunification, etc.?
- h. Anything else you want to add
- i. Do you have any questions

APPENDIX 5: List of Key Informants in Ecuador

Institution	Sector	Description of the key respondent
The Syndical Institute for Cooperation and Development (ISCOD-UGT)	Trade Union	Female advocate for improving migrant rights, and in charge of bilateral recruitment
Esquel Foundation	Foundation	Female director of nation-wide projects on youth and migration
Ministry of Foreign Relations	Government	Male government official, Sub-secretary of the Ministry
Ministry of Foreign Relations	Government (bilateral recruitment)	Female government official, worked on bilateral recruitment
National Secretary for Migration (SENAMI)	Government	Male government official, Director of SENAMI
Centre for Planning and Social Studies (CEPLAES)	Academic	Female, Director of CEPLAES
Central Bank of Ecuador	Government	Male government official, worked on the quantitative analysis of remittances
Banco del Pichincha	Financial	Male banker in the city of Macas, worked on loans for migrants/building houses/businesses, etc